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ABSTRACT

Designed to help students understand the challenges and opportunities facing relations between the United States and the former Soviet Union, this book is organized into four chapters. Chapter 1 explores the differing world views of the two superpowers and the major elements that make up those world views--including geography, economics, and government. Chapters 2 and 3 outline the history of U.S.-Soviet relations from 1917 to the present. Finally, chapter 4 describes issues and poses questions that the United States and the former Soviet Union will face in coming years. A glossary of terms and a list of materials for further reading also are included. The appended teacher's guide has four units, each corresponding to the four chaptes of the students text. The units provide a list of objectives, key terms, a motivation activity, student activities, student handouts, unit tests, and an answer key. (DB)

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Introduction

The United States and the Soviet Union have dominated global affairs since World War II. The world has been divided into two hostile camps—those who side with the Soviets and those who side with the Americans. Fierce antagonism has existed between these two camps, and many bloody regional wars have been fought in the names of the two superpowers. But as the 1990s begin, U.S.-Soviet relations are in a time of revolutionary change that may alter the patterns of confrontation developed over the past fifty years.

Today, people around the world are speculating about the changes that are occurring in U.S.-Soviet relations. How will these changes affect the global balance of power? Some analysts fear that rapid reforms in the Soviet Union and its allies will create instability in the world and increase the chances of violent conflicts. Others believe that the breakup of rigid alliance systems will allow greater freedom for all nations to control their own futures. Americans and Soviets today—more than at any other time since World War II—have the chance to redefine the roles their nations will play in the world.

In the pages that follow, we will examine some of the issues that influence U.S.-Soviet relations. Chapter 1 will explore the differing world views of the two superpowers and the major elements that make up those world views—including geography, economics, and government. Chapters 2 and 3 will outline the history of U.S.-Soviet relations from 1917 to the present. Finally, Chapter 4 will describe issues and pose questions that the United States and the Soviet Union will face in the coming years.

The challenges facing the United States and the Soviet Union at this point in history are great, but so are the opportunities for building a better world. This book will help you understand both the challenges and the opportunities facing U.S.-Soviet relations today. It will also provide you with the information you need to form your own opinions about the course you think U.S.-Soviet relations should take in the twenty-first century and beyond.

Differing World Views

1

Although only a narrow strait separates Soviet Siberia from Alaska, a much larger gulf separates the Soviet and American societies. The United States and the Soviet Union differ a great deal in geography, economy, and system of government. These three factors—along with history—are the major influences on each nation's world view. World view refers to how a nation defines its role in world affairs. The following chapter examines the geographies, economies, and governments of the United States and the Soviet Union and their impact on each nation's world view.

A nation's geography includes such features as location, land and climate, natural resources, and inhabitants. Geographic factors influence a nation's relationship with its neighbors and determine the resources it seeks from other nations.

The economy of a nation determines what goods and services will be produced, how they will be produced, and for whom they will be produced. A nation's economy affects its trade with other countries and therefore affects its world view.

A nation's system of government includes political ideology and the laws and institutions that regulate relationships between citizens. The United States and the Soviet Union are still struggling to redefine their differing world views and their relationship with each other—and to narrow the gulf that separates them.

Questions to Consider While You Read

1. What is meant by the term "geopolitics"? What factors influence the geopolitics of the United States and the Soviet Union?

2. What economic system did Adam Smith advocate? What are some differences between the U.S. economic system and Adam Smith's system?

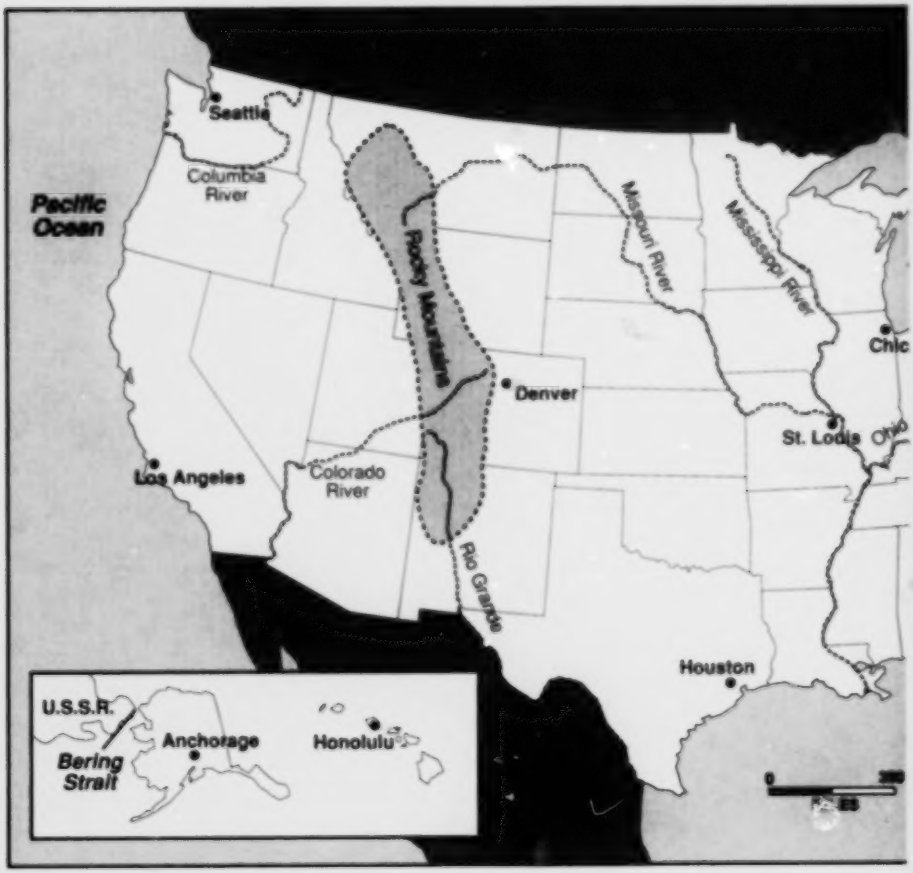
3. What economic system did Karl Marx advocate? What are some differences between the Soviet economic system and Karl Marx's system?

4. How do each of the three branches of the U.S. government "check and balance" the others? Is there a similar system of checks and balances in the Soviet Union?

5. How do the economic and political interests of the United States influence its foreign policy? How do the economic and political interests of the Soviet Union influence its foreign policy?

The United States

As the final decade of the twentieth century begins, Americans are redefining their nation's role in the world. The bipolar structure of international relations—the Soviet Union and its allies on one side, and the United States and its allies on the other—that has dominated the past fifty years is giving way to new alliances and new concerns. American foreign policymakers must reexamine U.S. goals in light of current events in Latin America, Asia, and Eastern Europe. How will the American world view



of the twenty-first century differ from the American world view of the twentieth century?

Geography

The geography of a nation includes physical characteristics such as land, climate, and natural resources, and human characteristics—the various types of people who live there. Both physical and human geography influence a nation's dealings with other nations, and therefore affect its world view. The way in which geography affects a nation's interaction with other nations is called *geopolitics*.

Physical Geography: From Sea to Shining Sea

The physical geography of the United States has made it wealthy and industrially powerful, enabling it to play a leading geopolitical role in the world. Oceans to the east and west and friendly neighbors to the north and south have contributed to the military security of the United States. And the wide variety of ethnic groups that have immigrated to the United States have given it important international interests and responsibilities.

The United States is the fourth largest nation in the world in both area and population. The American landscape

USDA/Doug Wilson

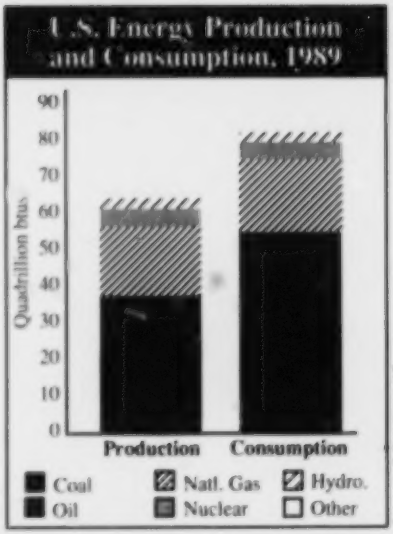
U.S. agriculture is highly mechanized and efficient, and American farmers produce much more grain than the nation can consume. The United States is responsible for almost half of the world's grain exports. In 1989, the Soviet Union was the largest importer of American grain.

stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, covering more than 3.5 million square miles. The American people number more than 250 million, spread over fifty states and the District of Columbia.

Land, Climate, and Resources. Americans live in a nation of many different landscapes and climates, from icy arctic tundra in Alaska to hot, barren deserts in Arizona, and from tropical rainforests in Hawaii to grassy plains in Iowa. Long mountain chains stretch near the east and west coasts of the country, and between the mountain ranges lies a fertile plain where most of the nation's food is grown. Rivers, especially the Mississippi and its tributaries, have played an important role in settling the United States. Most major U.S. cities are located along rivers or on the coasts.

Fertile soil and a favorable climate have allowed Americans to produce an abundance of food. U.S. farmers in midwestern states such as Illinois and Kansas till some of the richest soil in the world. They raise corn, wheat, soybeans, and livestock and export these products around the world. States such as California, Florida, and Hawaii profit from their warm weather by producing fruits and vegetables. In the winter months, even in the coldest areas of the country, Americans can go to their neighborhood supermarkets and buy lettuce, oranges, and pineapples.

The United States has a great variety of natural resources. It produces a large share of the world's coal, petroleum, iron ore, and copper. The United States also has a great deal of forestland for producing lumber and large, swift rivers for producing hydroelectricity. The natural resources of the United States have helped Americans build an industrial economy that is now the richest in the world.



Natural resources are the raw materials of a nation's industrial power. Although the United States has large supplies of coal, oil, and natural gas, American industry uses more energy—mainly in the form of oil—than the nation can produce. Therefore, Americans must import large amounts of energy each year.

Neighbors North and South. In spite of its vast size, the United States shares its borders with only two countries—Canada to the north and Mexico to the south. U.S. relations with Canada have been friendly, and disagreements between the two countries have been resolved through peaceful negotiations. Because both countries were colonized by England, citizens of British Canada and the United States share a similar history and culture. Quebec, a province

of Canada settled by France, maintains its unique French culture. Although people from many other lands settled in both the United States and Canada, both nations were most influenced by the English form of government.

U.S. relations with Mexico, on the other hand, have not always been peaceful. Whereas the United States and Canada share a similar heritage, Americans and Mexicans have less in common. Mexico was originally colonized by Spain. The Mexicans won independence from Spain in 1822 and claimed a great deal of territory in what is now the southwestern United States. In 1845, the U.S. government annexed the territory of Texas after Americans living there fought for independence from Mexico. Following the Mexican-American War in 1848, the United States took Mexican territory that now makes up California, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico. The United States has sometimes tried to influence political events in Mexico to favor U.S. interests, but since the mid-1800s, Mexico has not threatened U.S. security.

Geopolitics. The geography of the United States has benefited the nation throughout its history, giving it a powerful geopolitical position. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans separate the United States from Europe, Africa, and Asia. Until the twentieth century, when attack by air became possible, the oceans served as a natural barrier to invasion.

Rich farmlands and a variety of climates enabled the United States to become a wealthy agricultural nation that could feed its own people and export food to other countries. Natural resources such as coal, oil, iron ore, and forests allowed large industries to develop, making the United States a leader in the world economy. All these geographic characteristics have influenced U.S. relations with other countries by making the United States rich enough and strong enough to play a leading role in the world.

Human Geography: A Nation of Immigrants

Although the United States is geographically isolated, it is also connected to other continents because people from all over the world have settled there. More than 99 percent of Americans trace their ancestry to immigrants. Native Americans now make up less than 1 percent of the population.

Immigrants Create a New Home. Immigrants came and still come to the United States for several reasons—some to find greater religious or political freedom; others to find greater economic opportunities and improve their standard of living; and others to be reunited with family members.

The history of immigration to the United States is often divided into "waves" of people who came from certain areas. In the first wave, during the colonial period through the mid-1800s, most immigrants came from northern Europe—especially England, Ireland, and Germany. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a second wave of immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe—countries such as Italy, Russia, and Poland. And in the late 1900s, most immigrants to the United States have come from Latin America and Asia.

AP/Wide World Photos

Lithuanian-Americans demanded that the United States recognize Lithuania's declaration of independence from Soviet rule in March 1990. U.S. ethnic groups often organize protests to draw the attention of legislators to issues that concern their homelands.

Immigration from all over the world has created a rich mixture of ethnic groups in the United States. Each immigrant to the United States keeps much of the flavor of his or her own culture, but also adopts American customs and language, thus becoming a vital ingredient in American society.

Ethnic Groups and Geopolitics. For most of its history, the United States has been seen as a land of limitless opportunity where—with enough talent and hard work—impoverished immigrants could become millionaires. To some extent this optimistic vision has influenced the nation's attitude toward the rest of the world. Americans have often assumed that—with enough talent and hard work—they can solve problems around the globe. While some nations have appreciated this attitude, others have resented it.

The special interests of immigrants have played a role in shaping U.S. foreign policy. From 1914 to 1918, for example, Great Britain and its allies fought World War I against Germany and its allies. Americans of British ancestry wanted the United States to aid the British, but German-Americans urged the U.S. government to help the German side. In 1917, the United States did enter the war on the British side, thus upsetting German-Americans, some of whom were treated unfairly during the war.

Today, movements for independence from Communist rule in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are supported by Polish-Americans, Romanian-Americans, Lithuanian-Americans, and others. These U.S. citizens use their votes and their right to protest and lobby Congress to influence foreign policy decisions that affect their ancestral homelands. America's rich mixture of ethnic groups thus continues to play an important role in geopolitics.

Economy

The economic values of Americans play a role in how they view the world as well. Americans place great value on providing every individual with an opportunity to pursue his or her goals. They also prefer less government intervention in the economy than is found in most other nations. However, U.S. economic policies are not set in stone. Over the years,

the policies of the United States have fluctuated between more and less government involvement in the national and world economies.

Market Capitalism

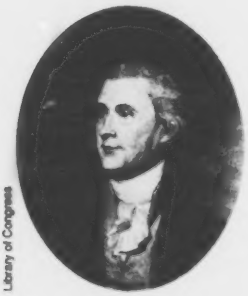
The United States has a *capitalist market economy*. Under a capitalist system, most of the nation's resources, such as land, factories, and machinery, are owned by private citizens. A market economy is driven by the self-interest of producers and consumers and the interaction of supply and demand.

In theory, market capitalism creates equal opportunity for success and prosperity for all citizens. In practice, however, factors such as racism, sexism, and lack of education can limit an individual's economic opportunities.

The Invisible Hand. Adam Smith, a Scottish economist, was the first to explain how a capitalist market economy should work. In *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, Smith argued that the government should protect property rights but should otherwise stay out of economic planning. A system in which the government does not interfere with economic planning is known by the French phrase *"laissez-faire,"* which means "let them do as they please."

Adam Smith referred to the "invisible hand" of self-interest and competition in the marketplace that he believed would control the economy so that everyone would benefit. For example, if a bicycle company wants to make more money, it will build bicycles that are faster, stronger, and cheaper than other bicycles. In response, other companies, not wanting to lose customers, will try to improve their bicycles. As a result, consumers will have more and better bicycles from which to choose.

Under market capitalism, companies compete to improve their products out of self-interest: to sell more and make more money. On the other hand, consumers also act out of self-interest. They want to buy products that are better and cheaper.



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In 1776 Thomas Jefferson (left) wrote the Declaration of Independence, defending America's revolt against British political power. In the same year, Adam Smith (right) published* The Wealth of Nations, *which criticized government control of economic life. Both Jefferson and Smith stressed individual rights and minimal government intervention in society.

Comparing Economic Systems

	Market Capitalism	Command Socialism
Who owns the means of production?	Private individuals	Government
Who decides what the economy should produce?	Consumers and businesses make decisions in the free market, according to supply and demand.	One political party sets all production goals.
What economic rights do workers have?	Workers are not guaranteed employment but may freely apply for any job. Workers can join unions to bargain collectively with employers for better wages and benefits. Workers can strike if employers do not meet their demands.	Workers are guaranteed employment, but can only apply for jobs with government approval. Workers' unions are controlled by the government. Strikes are prohibited.
How does government provide for the welfare of citizens?	Individuals provide for their own welfare. Government usually offers free elementary and secondary education and retirement benefits. The poor, elderly, and handicapped receive housing, health care, and financial aid.	Government guarantees employment, retirement pensions, free education, free health care, and low-cost housing to all citizens.

The United States has an economy based on* market capitalism, *while the Soviet Union's economy is based on command socialism. Neither exists in pure form, however. Both systems have been adapted over the years to fit changing economic goals and expectations in American and Soviet society.

Welfare Capitalism

Pure capitalism, as manipulated only by Smith's so-called "invisible hand," has never really existed in the United States. In the early years of the republic, the national government's involvement in the economy was minimal—setting tariffs and investing in roads and canals. By the late nineteenth century, Americans were ready for the government to take a greater role in regulating the economy. They believed that without more controls, the invisible hand would benefit only the owners of large businesses. Why did people lose faith in laissez-faire capitalism?

Failures of Capitalism. In the late 1800s, the U.S. economy was growing rapidly, and more and more immigrants were flooding into the country to work. In many cases, factory owners neglected the health and safety of their workers. Both adults and children worked long hours for low wages under dangerous conditions in steel mills, coal mines, and

clothing factories called "sweatshops." During economic depressions, which occurred often in the late 1800s and early 1900s, many businesses failed. There was no protection for the workers who lost their jobs. As a result, millions of Americans fell into poverty.

Some companies grew so large and powerful that they pushed all their competitors out of business. When this happens, such a company is said to have a *monopoly*. In a monopoly, there is no competition between producers and a company is free to demand the highest possible price for its products. At the same time, a company can produce poorer quality products because, even if customers complain, there is no other company from which they can buy.

In the early 1900s—the Progressive Era—the U.S. government responded to these business conditions by passing laws preventing monopolies and protecting the health and safety of workers. Workers sought to gain more control over their working conditions by organizing unions and negotiating for higher wages.

New Deal Reforms. Throughout the 1930s, the United States suffered a devastating economic decline known as the Great Depression. Millions of people were unemployed, and thousands of businesses failed. During the Great Depression, politicians led by President Franklin D. Roosevelt decided that the government had to do more to protect its citizens from economic hardship. Roosevelt's reform program, known as the New Deal, initiated the social security system and many other programs that gave jobs, food, and shelter directly to those in need.

In addition to helping Americans through hard times, the New Deal increased government regulation of the economy by creating watchdog agencies such as the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). These *regulatory agencies* monitor business practices to protect the interests of consumers. The FDIC still insures bank deposits and oversees the banking industry, and the SEC continues to regulate the stock market.

After the New Deal. Since the days of the New Deal, the government has continued to regulate the economy. Rather than pure capitalism, the U.S. economic system can be called *welfare capitalism*. Under welfare capitalism,

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British economist John Maynard Keynes influenced twentieth-century U.S. economic policy. In his 1936 work,* The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money, *Keynes argued that the government should manage the economy through taxation and spending programs. Many New Deal policies were based on Keynesian economic theories.

Close Up Foundation/R. Bouchard

U.S. consumers choose from a dazzling variety of products in supermarkets and shopping malls across the nation. In a market economy, consumers "vote" with their dollars, telling manufacturers which goods to produce and which not to produce.

the government assumes a degree of responsibility for the welfare of its citizens, rather than trusting it solely to the force of the so-called invisible hand. At the national level, social security provides retirement benefits to the elderly and financial aid to disabled workers and orphaned children. Individual states provide unemployment insurance and compensate workers who are injured on the job. Additionally, low-income and handicapped people are eligible for health care services, low-cost housing, and direct subsidies from the federal government.

Along with the increase in government welfare programs after the New Deal era, the level of government management of business and the economy as a whole also increased. For example, federal agencies and the courts now help mediate disputes between businesses and unions. Workplaces must meet minimum standards of safety. Some government agencies set limits on pollution; others try to prevent false advertising. The government also influences interest rates by regulating the amount of money being circulated by its banks under the Federal Reserve System.

By 1980, many Americans believed that the government's control of the economy was too stringent. In 1981, Ronald Reagan became president with a promise to reduce the federal government's intervention in the economy. With congressional support, Reagan continued the trend toward *deregulation*—removing government controls on industry—begun under President Jimmy Carter. He limited the power of federal regulatory agencies such as the Federal

Airline Administration (FAA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Some welfare programs were also cut. However, government spending, especially in the defense industry, remained an important stimulator of economic growth.

Capitalism in the United States today is dramatically different from the philosophy of Adam Smith. Market forces and self-interest still play the most important roles in deciding what goods will be produced, but government regulation often determines much of what businesses can and cannot do. Capitalism has also been changed by the creation of social welfare programs. Such programs have given the U.S. economy some common characteristics with the socialist economy of the Soviet Union.

The World View of American Capitalism

Just as Americans' attitude toward government intervention in the national economy has fluctuated over the years, so has their attitude toward government intervention in the world economy. In fact, laissez-faire principles have rarely extended to international economics. Since the early 1800s, U.S. manufacturers have lobbied the federal government to establish protective *tariffs*—taxes on imported goods—or to negotiate trade agreements favorable to U.S. interests.

The needs of U.S. businesses have also played a role in shaping U.S. foreign policy. To avoid high U.S. tariffs, for example, American owners of Hawaiian sugar plantations convinced Congress to annex the Hawaiian islands in 1898. More recently, the U.S. government responded to pressure from domestic automakers in the early 1980s by negotiating limits on the number of Japanese automobiles that could be imported to compete with American automobiles.

The United States has also tried to promote capitalism throughout the world. In the world view of most Americans, the capitalist economy offers the greatest opportunity for individuals to pursue their own interests and for industries to prosper.

In the twentieth century, when many Americans embraced the notion that the government should increase its regulation of the U.S. economy, this new attitude was extended to international affairs. The United States became a powerful member of organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the World Bank, which work to regulate the global economy and provide economic and technical assistance to developing nations.

At the beginning of the 1990s, Americans are struggling to reconcile their world view—which tells them to lend financial as well as moral support to capitalism and democracy in other nations—with their own federal budget and trade deficits. Because the United States plays such a key role in the world, the choices it makes regarding its own economy greatly affect the world economy. For example, if the United States continues to import large quantities of goods, the nations from which it imports will benefit economically. Consequently, the American world view is of great interest to people in other nations.

Comparing U.S. and Soviet Standards of Living

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have high standards of living compared to most developing nations. But how do they rate when compared to each other?

Poverty

In 1989, approximately 11 percent of the U.S. population lived below the government's official poverty line, compared to an estimated 28 percent of the Soviet population. In both the United States and the Soviet Union, the elderly, single mothers, and large families make up a majority of the poor.

Unemployment

In 1989, the U.S. unemployment rate hovered around 5 percent. In the Soviet Union, the constitution guarantees the "right to work"; therefore, unemployment has traditionally not been recognized. However, some experts predict that by the year 2000, economic reforms could lead to the unemployment of as many as 16 million Soviet workers, or about 15 percent of the workforce.

Education

As in the United States, education in the Soviet Union is free and compulsory from age 6 to age 17 or 18. Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union also offers free higher education to those who pass university entrance exams. The Soviet educational system is standardized throughout the nation, whereas in the United States school districts vary a great deal in their curricula and requirements. Like some U.S. businesses, the Soviet government encourages workers to continue their education by granting them paid leave, travel expenses, and other benefits.

Health Care

In the 1920s, the Soviet Union became the first nation to offer free health care to all its citizens. However, lack of funds and poor facilities have contributed to a generally low level of health care. Life expectancy in the Soviet Union is approximately 69 years, compared to 75 years in the United States. Twenty-five of every 1,000 Soviet children die before age one, compared to 11 of every 1,000 American children.

Crime

Overall, crime rose more than 30 percent in the Soviet Union in 1989. Experts disagree about whether the increase is real or whether statistics in the past were simply covered up. In both the United States and the Soviet Union, burglary and theft account for almost 90 percent of all crimes. But in the United States, more than 1.3 million violent crimes are committed each year, whereas in the Soviet Union the number is approximately 70,000.

Government

The political ideals of the United States also play an important role in shaping its world view. The foundation of the U.S. system as set forth in the Constitution includes the right of the people to control their own government and guarantees them certain basic rights and freedoms.

Government by the People

The U.S. Constitution begins by asserting that the people themselves are responsible for creating the government—not a king, or a small group of citizens, or one political party. To help protect the people's right to govern themselves, the framers of the Constitution established three branches of government, each with its own powers and responsibilities, and under a system of *checks and balances* tried to ensure that no branch gained absolute power over the others. The three branches of the government are: (1) the legislative branch, which makes the law; (2) the executive branch, which enforces the law; and (3) the judicial branch, which interprets the law.

Close Up Foundation/R. Bouchard

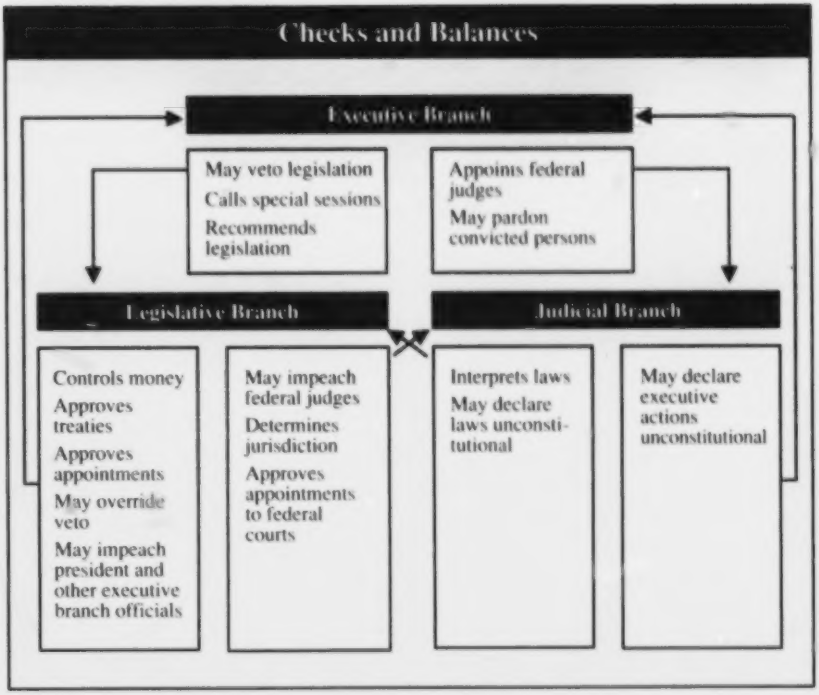
The Capitol, marked by a towering white dome, is the home of the U.S. Congress.

The legislative and executive branches are each responsible to a constituency, those who choose the officials. Members of Congress—the legislative branch—are directly elected by the people of each state. The president of the United States, who heads the executive branch, is chosen by the electoral college, members of which are elected by voters in each state. Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court and all other federal judges—the judicial branch—are appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. They are considered to be above politics and, therefore, not responsible to any constituency.

Along with checks and balances, the framers of the Constitution created another system—*federalism*—to guard against the amassing of too much power by a few people. Under the federal system, power is divided between the national government and the state governments. Although the word "federal" refers to this division of state and national power, the term is commonly used to refer to the national government only.

The Legislative Branch. The U.S. Constitution delegates most of the powers of the national government to Congress. Congress can make laws governing the armed forces, regulating trade, and protecting the rights of U.S. citizens. However, Congress cannot pass laws that violate the Constitution and it cannot make laws for individual states.

Congress is made up of the House of Representatives and the Senate. House members are elected according to the population of each state. States with large populations, such as California and New York, have many members, while



states with small populations, such as North Dakota and Wyoming, have only one. The House has 435 members, each representing about 500,000 people. Two senators are elected from each state, regardless of population, for a total of 100.

Congress establishes committees that do most of the day-to-day work. Committees discuss proposed legislation, investigate problems, and try to iron out differences between House and Senate versions of similar legislation. Once committees have finished their work on a bill, it is voted on by all the members of the House and Senate. If a majority of members of both the House and Senate vote in favor of the bill, it is sent to the president for signing and becomes law.

The president, however, can check Congress's powers by *vetoing*—or rejecting—a bill. The Supreme Court can also check Congress's power by declaring a law unconstitutional.

The Executive Branch. The president, vice president, executive departments, and a large bureaucracy make up the executive branch. The president appoints a person to head each of the 14 executive departments that make up the *cabinet*. Cabinet officials play key roles in policymaking.

The president has the power to enforce laws, grant pardons, and issue ex-

ecutive orders. He or she can conduct foreign relations, appoint diplomatic representatives, and negotiate treaties (which must be approved by the Senate). The president is also commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

The powers of the president have grown dramatically during the history of the United States. In the early years of the nation, presidents usually vetoed only legislation they thought was unconstitutional. However, since the Civil War, presidents have used the veto as a weapon against legislation with which they disagree. In 1921, an act of Congress increased presidential power by giving the president primary responsibility for creating a financial plan for the nation. Therefore, each year the president must send Congress a budget proposal outlining his or her priorities. The president also offers an outline of goals for the nation and proposes legislation in an annual state of the union address.

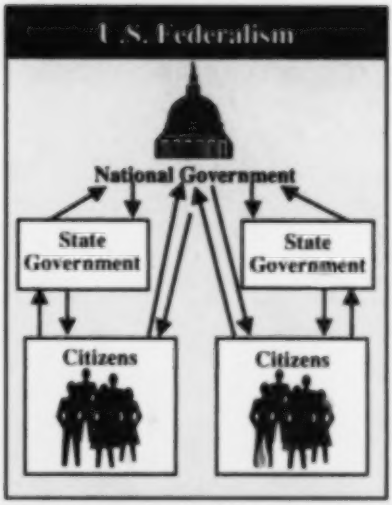
Congress can check the power of the president by overriding a veto with a two-thirds majority in both the House and the Senate, by refusing to confirm presidential appointments, or by limiting money appropriated for agencies and programs. The Supreme Court can check executive power by declaring executive orders unconstitutional.

The Judicial Branch. Like other branches of government, the judiciary, or court system, must protect the fundamental rights of the citizens of the United States. Judges have often disagreed about how to best protect these rights. Some believe in *judicial activism*, whereby the courts take an active role in setting policy, as do the legislative and executive branches. Others believe in *judicial restraint*, in which the courts do not make policy, but simply assure that the other branches of government act in accordance with the Constitution.

The Supreme Court is the nation's highest court and has the right to declare laws passed by Congress unconstitutional. Supreme Court justices and other federal judges are appointed by the president, but must be confirmed by the Senate. Judges are appointed for life, so they cannot be fired for making unpopular decisions. Most cases that come before the Supreme Court do so because a party to the case believes a lower court made an error or because the case raises the issue of whether a law is constitutional.

The president can check judicial power by appointing judges who agree with his or her ideals, by granting pardons, and by deciding how strongly to enforce court orders. Congress can check judicial power by approving or rejecting judicial appointments, impeaching and removing federal judges, and proposing constitutional amendments that would overturn Supreme Court decisions.

Federalism. Over the course of U.S. history, the balance of power between the national government and state governments has shifted. In the early years of the republic, states feared excessive national power and maintained strict control over their own affairs. Many of the nation's founders, including Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, believed that states had the right to declare national laws unconstitutional, a right now exercised only by federal judges. The question of whether states had the right to secede from the union led to the Civil



Under the American federal system, power is divided between the national government and state governments. The actions of both governments can directly affect citizens, and both governments must agree to any constitutional change.

War. Once again, the power of the national government was victorious.

After the Civil War, the power of the federal government expanded. In the early 1900s, the federal government increased its intervention in the economy. Since the 1930s, the national government has been more involved in state and local affairs, and the line between state and national powers has become blurred. However, in the 1980s, President Reagan decreased federal responsibilities, turning over more social programs to state control.

Traditionally, state governments are responsible for ensuring public health and safety, regulating utilities, providing public transportation and parks, and administering public education. The national and state governments share some functions such as collecting taxes, building roads, and maintaining courts. If a conflict arises between state and national law, however, the state must yield to the government in Washington.

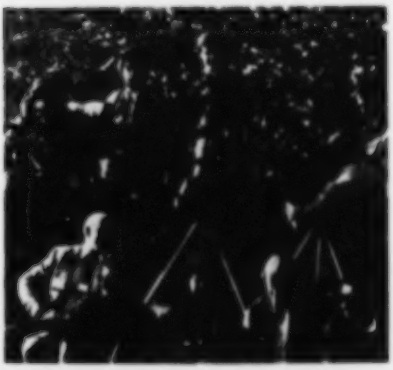
The national government takes action on matters that concern the nation as a whole, such as military defense. The federal system allows city, county, and state governments to make laws that meet the specific needs of their citizens. For example, general decisions about what should be taught in public schools are usually made by state and local officials. Thus, states such as California and Arizona, with a large number of Spanish-speaking schoolchildren, may decide to offer bilingual classes and teach more about Hispanic culture than a state like Alaska, which has few Hispanic students.

In many states, citizens themselves can propose legislation. They do this through *initiatives*. In the initiative process, citizens gather the signatures of a certain percentage of the state's voters on a petition describing the proposed legislation. If the required number of signatures is gathered, the proposed law is presented to either the state legislature or the voters themselves. Citizens in some states may also demand that a bill passed by the legislature be put to them for a vote. This process is called a *referendum*. A final method by which citizens exercise control over the government is through the *recall* process. Voters dissatisfied with a public official may circulate a petition calling for a special election to recall the official before his or her term of office has ended.

The federal system allows a great deal of freedom for a state government to act in the interest of its citizens. At times, however, this system of two-level government creates a struggle between a state and the national government. The Supreme Court sometimes has to act as an umpire, stepping in to resolve disagreements between state and national governments.

Guaranteed Rights and Freedoms

The framers of the Constitution were greatly influenced by philosophers such as John Locke. Locke wrote extensively about politics and society in the 1600s. He believed that all people have certain *natural rights*, including the right to life, liberty, and property. Locke rejected the notion that God gave the leaders of a nation the right to rule. Instead, he asserted that the people of a nation made a *social contract* with a ruler. The people agreed to pay taxes and obey laws that were reasonable in exchange for the ruler's promise to protect their natural rights.



Freedom of the press is a vital component of the American system. It helps citizens get the information they need to make wise choices about their government. But the American press is not free from all restrictions. For example, the press may not print or air statements known to be false or material considered obscene. In addition, the government reserves the right to suppress information that might endanger national security.

The Constitution and Bill of Rights draw on and expand Locke's list of natural rights to guarantee other rights and freedoms to the American people. For example, neither national nor state governments can interfere with the religious beliefs of citizens. Governments cannot interfere with the right of Americans to assemble peacefully, petition the government, or speak freely. In the United States, members of the press are free to write what they choose. People accused of crimes cannot be held without knowing what charges are being made against them, and they have the right to a speedy, fair trial before an impartial jury. In addition, state and federal laws have made discrimination against people because of race, religion, sex, or age illegal.

However, American society has not always lived up to its goal of equality and freedom for everyone. Throughout history, citizens of the United States have fought in the courts, legislatures, and streets to retain the rights granted them by the Constitution. The tradition of individual rights, free elections, and the separation of powers has made it possible for Americans to fight injustice by speaking out in the media, by voting for candidates who agree with their views, and by taking their cases to court.

A Two-Party System

The United States has a two-party political system made up of Democrats and Republicans. Parties consist of groups of people who share certain political beliefs and are organized to elect candidates who believe in the general principles for which the party stands. Political parties offer voters a choice between different philosophies of government. American citizens voice their opinions about how the government should be run by voting for the party candidate who most closely mirrors their views. Everyone who belongs to a political party does not believe exactly what everyone else in the party believes, but members do share some common ideas.

One party may dominate national or local politics for long periods of time. During the 1980s, for example, the Republicans controlled the U.S. presidency, whereas the Democrats have controlled the U.S. House of Representatives since 1953.

Library of Congress

Socialist party candidate Eugene Debs ran for president five times in the early 1900s. Smaller parties play an important role in the American system by providing an outlet for alternative political viewpoints. Some parties—like the Socialists—promote a particular ideology, while others—like the Right to Life party—focus on single issues, such as outlawing abortion.

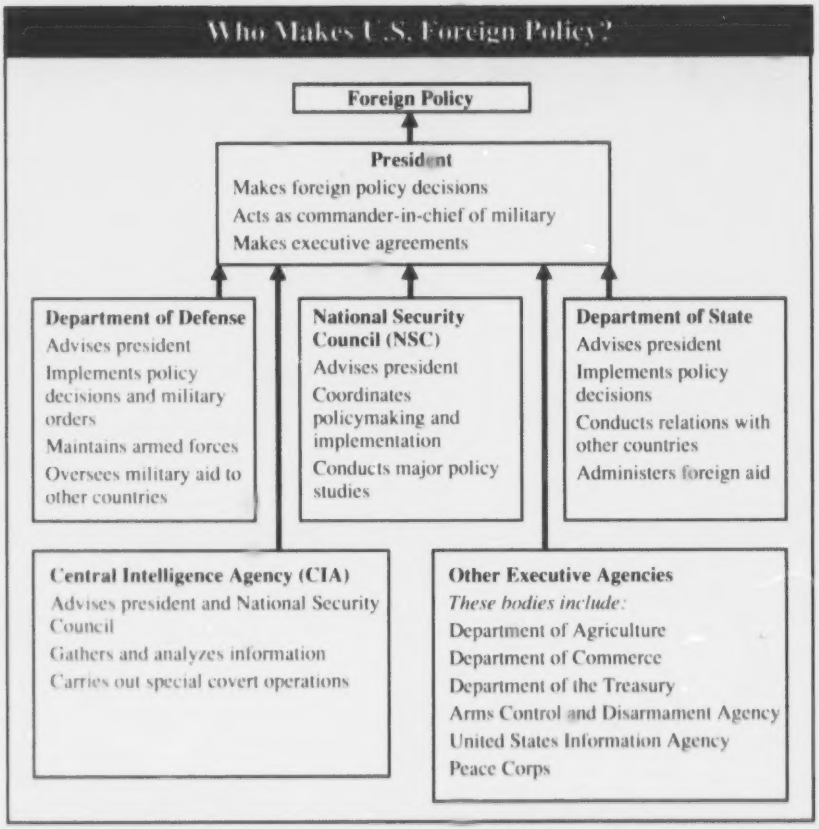
Political parties serve several functions in American society. They nominate candidates for public office. They inform voters about issues through newspapers, television, and other media. The party out of power often criticizes the actions of the party in power, thereby pressuring those in power to act honestly and in the public's best interest.

Throughout American history, additional smaller parties have enjoyed some success, usually only in local elections. Small parties were often formed because groups of people had specific criticisms that the major parties did not address. For example, in the 1890s, the People's party—which favored government operation of railroads and more aid to farmers—won governorships in several western states as well as seats in the U.S. House of Representatives.

The World View of American Democracy

American political ideals have an impact on U.S. foreign policy. The fact that U.S. society values the right of people to control their government sometimes leads Americans to distrust nations that concentrate power in the hands of a few people. Geopolitical and economic factors sometimes lead the United States to support undemocratic regimes; but for the most part, the United States allies itself with other democracies. Great Britain and Canada, both of which have long democratic traditions, are among America's most steadfast allies.

America's emphasis on individual freedom also influences its dealings with other nations. U.S. foreign policy encourages other nations to assure free-



The executive branch of the U.S. government is responsible for making foreign policy. However, Congress also plays a role in foreign policy through appropriation of funds, committee investigations, and public debate on foreign policy issues. In addition, the Senate's responsibility to ratify treaties and approve ambassadors provides a check on executive control of foreign policy.

dom of religion, speech, and the press for their citizens. When the United States and the Soviet Union meet to discuss political and military issues, U.S. negotiators often place the rights of Soviet *dissidents*—those who disagree with the Soviet government's policies—on the agenda.

Finally, the two-party political system is highly valued in American society. Americans view with suspicion nations with only one political party. For this reason, the creation of multi-party systems in Latin America and Eastern Europe has been encouraged by the United States.

The Soviet Union

In recent years, changes in the Soviet Union have occurred with breathtaking speed. Characteristics of Soviet society that Americans have taken for granted for decades have suddenly disappeared. The Communist party is no longer the sole guiding force in Soviet society. Capitalism is no longer an enemy to be destroyed, but a tool—still sparingly used—to improve Soviet economic performance. Critics of the political system are no longer sent into exile; they are elected to the legislature.

Before the Soviet Union

In 1917, the Russian people revolted against their ruler, Czar Nicholas II, and created the Soviet Union. What sort of country did the Soviet Union inherit from Russia?

Socially, the majority of Russians were serfs—peasants who served wealthy landowners and were considered their property, similar to slaves in the United States. After the serfs were freed by the czar in 1861, most farmed communally. Under the communal system, there was little incentive to improve one's plot of land or amass great wealth because the land was redistributed periodically and each member of the community was responsible for everyone else's debts.

Economically, Russia lagged behind Western Europe and the United States in industrial production before the revolution. However, in the 1880s the Russian government launched a plan to improve its heavy industry such as steel and machinery manufacturing. To implement the plan, the czars relied on foreign investment and imports of Western technology.

Politically, Russia's czars ruled as autocrats—holding absolute, unrestricted power. Although local elected officials were responsible for public health and education, for the most part the Russian government was a highly centralized bureaucracy controlled from Moscow. In 1905, a series of strikes forced the czar to establish a legislature, called the *Duma*. However, the Duma was subject to dismissal by the czar if he disagreed with its actions; therefore, it exercised little real power.

Thus, in 1917 the Soviet Union inherited a troubled agricultural sector with little tradition of private enterprise, a limited industrial base built up chiefly with government direction and western investment, and a highly centralized government structure.

The unrest in Soviet society naturally has an impact on its conduct of foreign relations. Because the Soviet Union is still in the process of change, so is its foreign policy. In the past, Soviet policies toward Eastern Europe, arms control, and the Third World were quite predictable. Today, however, U.S. foreign policymakers are finding it difficult to analyze a Soviet world view that seems to be changing every day.

Geography

While the United States enjoys a powerful geopolitical position in the world, the Soviet Union's geography presents challenges for its leaders. First, the Soviet Union is much more vulnerable to attack than the United States because the Soviets share borders with twelve nations, rather than two. Second, the many ethnic groups that make up the Soviet Union are less loyal to their national government than are ethnic groups in the United States. The glue of common ideals that binds together the republics of the Soviet Union is weaker than the glue holding the United States together. Finally, the harsh climate and terrain of the Soviet Union, combined with a poor transportation system, lead to chronic food shortages. So, unlike Americans, who have ample food supplies, the Soviets must trade with food-exporting nations—even if those nations oppose the Soviet Union politically.

One-Sixth of the World

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or the Soviet Union, is the largest country in the world, covering more than 8.5 million square miles—about one-sixth of the land on the earth. The nation is made up of fifteen republics, the largest of which is the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). The RSFSR includes about three-fourths of the land and half the population of the Soviet Union. Moscow, the national capital, is located in the RSFSR.

The Soviet Union is often incorrectly called "Russia." Russia was the name of the country that existed before the Soviet Union was created. Russia covered roughly the same area as the present-day Soviet Union. Russians make up the largest ethnic group in the Soviet Union and Russian is the dominant language. However, many smaller ethnic groups live in the Soviet Union as well.

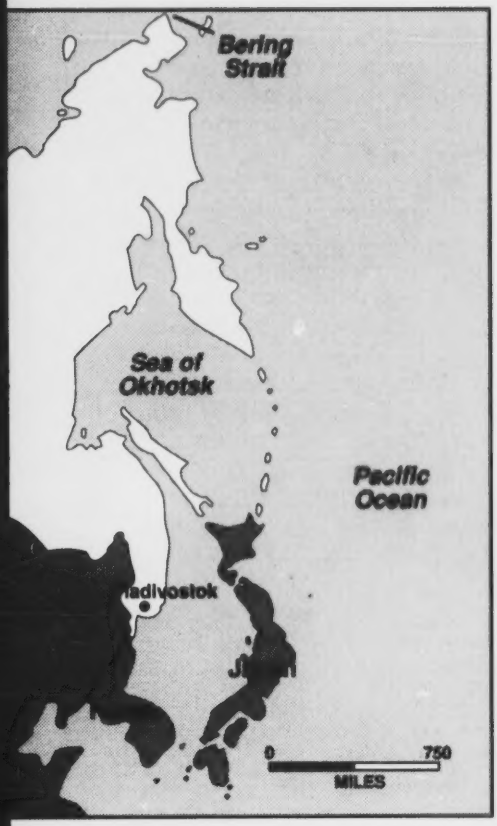
Land, Climate, and Resources. Americans may have trouble imagining the size of the Soviet Union, which is two and a half times larger than the United States and stretches over eleven time zones from central Europe to the Pacific. Because of its size, the country includes a wide variety of landscapes and climates, but is generally colder and drier than the United States.

The low Ural Mountains divide the European part of the Soviet Union from the Asian part. West of the Urals is a large plain covered in forest and grassland—a frequent invasion route for European armies. To the east of the Urals is Siberia, a flat, swampy area where much of the soil is permanently frozen a few inches below the surface. High rugged mountains stretch along the southern border of the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet Union has the longest coastline in

the world, it has few ports that can be used year-round because most are blocked by ice during the winter. In the past, the desire for ice-free ports has led Russian and Soviet leaders to seek control of territories near the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Persian Gulf.

As in the United States, rivers have played an important role in settling the Soviet Union. Many of the country's largest cities lie along rivers such as the Volga, the Dnieper, and the Ob. Rivers have also been harnessed for hydroelectric power. However, more than half of the Soviet Union's rivers flow northward to the Arctic Ocean, instead of southward to the deserts of Central Asia, where water is needed for agriculture. In Siberia, the rivers' northward flow causes flooding each spring as river ice first melts in the south, then is dammed by ice further north.

Severe winter cold, swamps, frozen soil, short growing seasons, and extremely

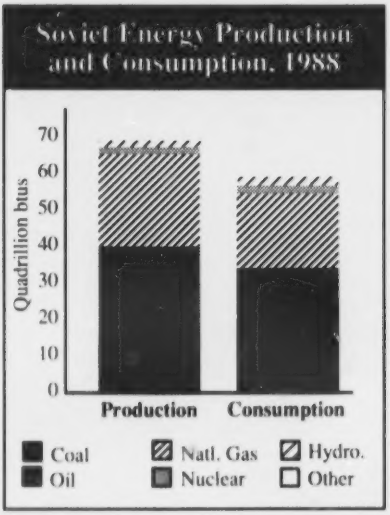


dry areas are geographic factors that present problems for Soviet agriculture. The western part of the Soviet Union has rich soils similar to those on the American Great Plains. This is the nation's major grain-growing region, but it often suffers droughts and damaging hot winds. Cotton is grown in southern desert regions, with the help of irrigation. Very little farming is possible in the cold climate of Siberia, but huge forests there provide firewood and lumber to the nation.

In spite of geographic challenges, the Soviet Union is the world's leading producer of wheat, barley, oats, rye, potatoes, milk, and butter. However, an inadequate transportation and storage system contributes to chronic food shortages. As much as 25 percent of the nation's crops rot in warehouses or railroad cars each year, unable to reach consumers.

The vast area of the Soviet Union is rich in natural resources. It extracts enough oil, natural gas, gold, and diamonds to export to other nations. But the harsh climate often makes mining and oil drilling as difficult as farming.

Neighbors in All Directions. The Soviet Union's physical location is very different from that of the United States.



The Soviet Union produces more energy than it consumes, so it is able to export oil and natural gas to Europe. Oil and natural gas account for about 40 percent of the Soviet Union's total exports.

Unlike the United States, the Soviet Union shares its borders with twelve other nations. Its enormous size places part of the country in Asia, part in the Middle East, and part in Europe. In the past, Russia, and later the Soviet Union, suffered attacks from neighboring countries in all three of these areas.

Russia's difficulties with its Asian neighbors go back to the 1200s, when armies of Mongols and Tatars attacked Russia and forced it under their rule for 200 years. The Russians also fought and lost a war with Japan in the early 1900s. Today, the Soviets use both diplomacy and military power to maintain peace with their Asian neighbors Japan and China. And they try to maintain political influence in the independent nation of Mongolia, which lies between the Soviet Union and China.

Along Russia's Middle Eastern borders, in the 1700s and 1800s, Russian troops battled the Turkish Empire and many nomadic tribes to win control of much territory. This territory now makes up eight Soviet republics—Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kirgizia. These republics contain a large Muslim population that strongly resisted the imposition of Russian culture. In part because of its large Muslim population, the Soviet Union has supported Muslim countries in the Middle East in their fight against the Jewish state of Israel.

On the west, European armies have mounted several devastating invasions. Consequently, the Soviets have been greatly concerned about the security of their European border. In the early 1800s, French armies under Napoleon marched into Russia. The French were defeated at great cost to the Russian people, but Russia emerged from the conflict as one of Europe's great powers. However, the nation was still vulnerable to attack. The German invasion of World War I helped spark the Russian revolution, and the nation lost territory and military power.

The most significant event in shaping the world view of a generation of Soviets was the attack of German armies during World War II. Hitler's armies drove into the heartland of the Soviet Union. Known in the Soviet Union as the Great Patriotic War, it ultimately destroyed tens of thousands of villages, towns, factories, and farms—and cost more than 20 million Soviet lives.

The devastation of World War II was uppermost in the minds of Soviet leaders as they created a buffer zone of subordinate nations between their country and Western Europe after the war. The Soviet Union supported the establishment of communist governments in eight Eastern European nations. These nations became known as Soviet *satellites*. For more than forty years, the Soviets kept a massive military presence in Eastern Europe, crushing attempts by the satellite nations to break free from Soviet control.

Geopolitics. The size and geographic location of the Soviet Union dictate that it cannot afford a policy of *isolationism*. Rather, it must maintain relationships with other nations—both friendly and unfriendly.

In the past, the Soviets have chosen to deal with their neighbors by building up military power to deter invasion or by

directly controlling their neighbors as satellites. Recently, however, Soviet leaders have turned away from military and political coercion toward greater international cooperation. In the late 1980s, the Soviet Union abandoned control of Eastern Europe and concentrated on creating closer economic and political ties with the United States, Western Europe, Japan, and other nations.

A Nation of Nations

Like the United States, the Soviet Union is composed of people of many different ethnic backgrounds. In fact, there are more than 100 distinct ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. The Russians are the largest ethnic group, making up about half the population. In order, the next five largest groups are the Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Belorussians, Kazakhs, and Azerbaijanis.

Ethnic Tensions. Unlike Americans, Soviet citizens are not immigrants who left their native homelands to build communities in a new country. For the most part, the non-Russian ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union are living in the same areas their people have occupied for centuries. In fact, few ethnic minorities chose to become Soviet citizens; most were conquered and brought into the Russian empire more than 100 years ago. Between 1922 and 1940, the fifteen republics were annexed to the new Soviet state. However, the question of joining the Soviet Union was never put to a vote of the people.

The largest Soviet minority groups live in areas that are governed as Soviet Socialist Republics (SSRs). Smaller minority groups exist within the larger republics, and are governed as Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics (ASSRs) or smaller regions. The minorities, known as *nationalities*, send representatives to the Soviet of Nationalities, which is part of the Supreme Soviet, the legislative branch of Soviet government.

As in the United States, members of minority groups in the Soviet Union often feel discriminated against by the culture of the majority. Official Soviet policy has been to allow the nationalities to retain their native languages. However, the Soviet government has also tried to create a common Soviet culture. The Russian language is taught in all schools, along with the native language. While ethnic groups in the United States freely adopt the English language and many American customs to quickly assimilate, the Soviet Union's nationalities often resist learning Russian. However, Russians or those who adopt the Russian language hold higher positions in the military and government, even in the governments of the non-Russian republics.

Today, more and more Russians are moving into non-Russian republics, especially in the south, where the climate is pleasant. This migration of Russians has generated tension among the people who live in those areas.

Nationalities and Geopolitics. The fact that the Soviet Union is made up of 100 different nationalities affects its foreign policy. The nationalities have little in common other than the ruling Communist party and Soviet government. As the Communist party and Soviet military have loosened their grip on society, ten-

sions between nationalities—such as territorial disputes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis—have erupted into violence.

Some groups, such as Lutherans in Estonia or Muslims in Azerbaijan, feel closer to people of their own religion in other nations than to fellow Soviet citizens. Lack of loyalty to the Soviet Union can cause difficulties in the conduct of foreign policy. For example, when the Soviet Union invaded its Muslim neighbor Afghanistan in 1979, Muslim Soviet soldiers in the southern border republics refused to fight. Troops from non-Muslim republics had to be transported long distances to fight in Afghanistan.

The desires and actions of the nationalities are playing a larger part than ever before in U.S.-Soviet relations. In the late 1980s, for example, many republics began seeking greater political, cultural, and economic independence from Moscow. Some even seek total separation from the Soviet Union. In dealing with conflicts between the Soviet republics and the central government, the United States and other nations consider their own political and economic interests.

Economy

The economic goals of the Soviet Union have a considerable impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. The United States and the Soviet Union share basic economic goals: agricultural and industrial growth, prosperity for all citizens, and beneficial trade relationships with other nations. Yet, in each nation, a different way of achieving these goals has evolved.

For years, the U.S. and Soviet economic systems clashed, leading to clashes in the political realm as well. Today, Soviet leaders are considering changes in their economy—including a price system based on supply and demand and more freedom from government control for farmers and business entrepreneurs. Such changes would bring the Soviet economy closer to capitalism, just as the institution of government welfare programs added a measure of socialism to the U.S. economy.

A Socialist Command Economy

For the most part, the Soviets operate under a *socialist command economy*, in which the government determines what products will be produced and for whom they will be produced. Unlike the American system, the Soviet system places prosperity of the nation above prosperity of individuals.

In theory, the government attempts to distribute wealth equally among all citizens, so that no great gap exists between rich and poor. In practice, however, discrimination against minorities and the Communist party's monopoly on power have created an unequal distribution of wealth.

Marxist Revolution. The Soviet economy is based on the theory of communism developed by Karl Marx. Marx, a German economist writing in the mid-1800s, was a harsh critic of capitalism. Marx believed that capitalists—the owners of factories, land, and machinery—were exploiting workers. According to Marx, workers were not paid as much as their labor was worth because capitalists

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Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin (left) based the Russian Revolution on the economic theories of German philosopher Karl Marx (right). Marx foresaw a classless society in which all people were equally prosperous, and the workers who actually produced the nation's wealth owned the means of production.

wanted to keep large profits for themselves. He predicted that the inherent greediness of capitalists would lead to economic depression because workers would not have enough money to buy the products that capitalist factories were producing.

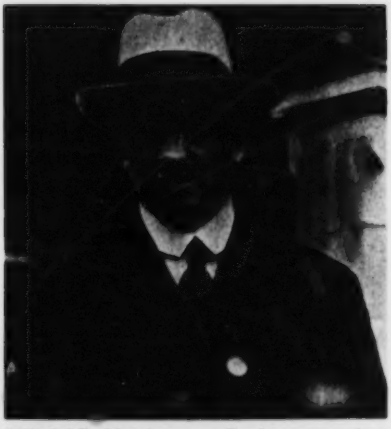
Karl Marx's two most famous works, *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital*, predicted that the gap between the rich capitalists and poor workers would continue to grow until a worldwide revolution eventually took place. He urged, "Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!"

According to Marx's theory, a period of *socialism*, or government control of resources, would precede *communism*. Eventually, however, everyone would be equal, and there would be no need for government control—workers themselves would plan the economy and run factories and farms. Marx thought everyone would work according to his or her own abilities, and everyone would consume products on the basis of individual need. True communism would be achieved, according to Marx, when all government disappeared and workers totally controlled society.

In 1917, during World War I, revolution transformed Russia. The leaders of the revolution, known first as the Bolshevik party and later as the Communist party, wanted to achieve Karl Marx's communist society. They based their economic plans on his theories.

However, the economy did not develop according to Marx's plan. In 1917 Russia had little heavy industry. Most citizens were poor farmers, not factory workers. The war put a great strain on the Russian economy, which could not produce the food and weapons needed at the front as well as goods needed at home. On the heels of World War I and the revolution came further turmoil—a civil war between forces that supported the Bolshevik revolutionaries and forces that opposed them.

After the civil war, the new Soviet government established state control of some industries and worker control of others. But it was difficult to get the economy moving again. In 1921, Communist party leader Vladimir Lenin instituted what he called the New Economic



National Archives

Nikolai Bukharin was a Soviet economic theorist who favored an economy that balanced agricultural and industrial growth, including both consumer goods and heavy industry. Bukharin supported Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP) and opposed Josef Stalin's collectivization of agriculture. For his opposition to Stalin, Bukharin was tried and executed in the late 1930s. Some Soviet economists believe that NEP and Bukharin's theories offer models for current economic reforms.

Policy (NEP) to promote economic growth. NEP combined elements of a capitalist economy with elements of a socialist economy. Under NEP, small businesses could operate without government control and farmers could sell a percentage of their crops directly to consumers in the marketplace. However, large industries were controlled by the government.

Stalinist Revolution. In 1928, a new Soviet leader, Josef Stalin, abandoned NEP policies and instituted total state control of the economy through successive Five Year Plans. Stalin set ambitious goals for the nation, emphasizing heavy industries such as steel, machinery, and weapons. An enormous bureaucracy emerged to oversee the Five Year Plans—from the state planning agency of the party down to each factory and farm.

Between 1929 and 1940, Stalin forced Soviet farmers to collectivize. Under *collectivized agriculture*, farmers work for wages on large government-owned farms and sell their products directly to the government, not to consumers. Many farmers who resisted were imprisoned or executed. Some even burned crops and slaughtered livestock, rather than sell to the government at prices set far below market value. A terrible famine resulted from the policy of collectivization, and as many as five million people died.

Stalin transformed Soviet society as dramatically as the Bolshevik revolution had transformed Russian society. He created a powerful, industrial nation out of a weak, agrarian nation. However, Stalin directed most of the nation's money, labor, and natural resources into the favored sectors of the economy—heavy industry and the military—while agriculture and consumer goods suffered.

Another Revolution?

Stalin died in 1953, but for the most part, his successors continued to follow his economic policies. By the 1980s, however, the Soviet economy was stagnating, and citizens were growing frustrated by the lack of consumer goods. The Five Year Plans called for producing dams, trucks, and missiles, but not enough cars,

clothing, or soap. Soviet citizens lived in cramped apartments with few modern conveniences. Some thought it was time for another revolution.

Failures of the System. The Soviets have found their command economy to be inefficient and wasteful. To meet quotas set in Moscow, factory managers produce shoddy or useless goods. In one instance, the government plan called for one factory to produce five million carpentry nails. The factory manager wanted to use as little steel as possible because so much red tape was involved in procuring steel, so she produced five million tiny, fragile pins. The next year, planners tried to get carpentry nails by specifying that the same factory produce one million pounds of nails. To simplify production, the factory manager produced enormous spikes. In contrast, in the United States, carpenters' demands for nails would have driven up prices, and the factory manager would have tried to produce the type of nails that the company could readily sell and make a profit.

Along with the overall economy, individual workers have also suffered under the command system. In the example above, Soviet carpenters suffered because their need for nails was not met. Also, wages in the Soviet Union traditionally have been unrelated to workers' productivity, so there have been no incentives to perform more efficiently. Faced with few job rewards, many Soviets

© Clay Bennett/St. Petersburg Times

turned to alcohol, which further contributed to low productivity.

In the world economy, the Soviet system puts the nation outside the international trade markets in which capitalist nations participate. The Soviet ruble is "nonconvertible" or "soft." Like the price of bread in the Soviet Union, the *exchange rate*—the value of rubles relative to other nations' currency—is strictly controlled by the government. By contrast, the U.S. dollar, the Japanese yen, and the German deutsche mark are convertible because their exchange rates are determined by the relative strength of their economies in the international market. For instance, as more nations want U.S. dollars to buy U.S. products, the value of the dollar rises. The Soviet government sets the exchange rate of the ruble high, so that to import Soviet goods foreigners will have to exchange more dollars, deutsche marks, or yen than the goods are actually worth.

The Soviets' inability to exchange rubles for any other currency makes it difficult for them to import goods from other nations and to attract foreign investments that could help their economy grow. Soviet leaders are considering plans to make the ruble convertible, but until that time, they are using the *barter system*, in which goods are exchanged for other goods instead of money. For example, the Soviets may give a soft drink company vodka in exchange for soft drinks. The Soviets get the product they want, and the American company sells the vodka elsewhere in the world to convert it into dollars.

Perestroika. Just as the United States modified its capitalist market economy by adding some elements of socialism, the Soviet Union is now engaging in *perestroika*, or "restructuring," of its socialist command economy by adding elements of capitalism.

AP/Wide World Photos

Soviet shoppers face chronic shortages of food and consumer goods and often must wait in long lines to obtain scarce products. Shortages are compounded by the fact that Soviets hoard hard-to-find goods whenever they are available. For upper-level officials and members of the scientific and cultural elite, special stores offer a wider variety of goods at lower prices.

Under *perestroika*, most government-owned factories and farms are expected to show a profit, not just meet a quota. To promote better craftsmanship, factory inspectors reject poor-quality goods. In addition, Soviet leaders are introducing a modified form of private ownership to agriculture and business by allowing citizens to rent land on a long-term basis for farming or building small businesses or homes. The renters may then pass the leases on to their children as though they owned the property.

The Soviet Union is trying to reduce the *underground economy* that has long illegally provided goods and services to citizens. For example, some plumbers operating in the underground economy will fix a sink faster than officially sanctioned government plumbers, but they

charge more to do so. Changes in Soviet law have made such small-scale services legal, but because this moonlighting income is also taxable, some prefer to stay underground.

Reform-minded Soviet leaders have encouraged some industries to bypass the central planning bureaucracy by buying from and selling to other countries directly. They have also permitted *joint ventures*—cooperative business arrangements between Soviet and foreign companies.

Although the ultimate goal of the *perestroika* reforms is to increase economic productivity and benefit consumers, ordinary citizens may suffer as the forces of supply and demand drive up prices. Just as it took years to create the command system, it will take years to create a new system. At this early stage, no one can predict the shape of the Soviet economy in the year 2000 and beyond.

Economics and the Soviet World View

As in the United States, economic goals have played an important role in shaping foreign policy in the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union has always had two conflicting economic goals—to en-

Perestroika and Soviet Socialism

A gradual restructuring of the Soviet Union's economy began in the 1980s and continues today. Soviet officials are trying to improve worker efficiency, promote economic growth and international trade, and modernize agriculture and industry. The following list of reforms under *perestroika* includes plans that have been enacted and plans still being discussed.

- Certain factories, especially those engaged in high-tech production, may keep and reinvest a portion of their profits.
- Factory inspectors have the right to reject low-quality products.
- Factories will no longer be given operating money by the government. They must use their earnings to buy raw materials and pay workers.
- Small-scale services such as plumbing, dressmaking, and taxi service may legally be performed and the workers may keep the money earned, minus a 13 to 50 percent tax.
- Private restaurants may operate legally.
- After providing a portion of their output to the government, collective farms may sell the rest directly to consumers for profit.
- Prices of certain consumer goods will not be kept artificially low, but will be allowed to rise to market levels.
- Private citizens can own small factories and other businesses. Workers can also buy stock in their factories.

courage Marxist revolutions throughout the world and to strengthen and expand the Soviet economy. Pursuit of both these goals has often led to an ambiguous foreign policy.

From the beginning, the Soviet Union supported Communist parties in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, and encouraged them to overthrow capitalism in their own nations. Yet while encouraging the overthrow of capitalism, the Soviets also sought economic aid from the capitalist West, especially from the United States. Soon after the Bolshevik revolution, American and European businesses established economic ties with the Soviet Union, even though their governments stood firmly in opposition to Soviet communism. Like the United States, the Soviet Union used economic aid as a tool for forging alliances and influencing political events in the Third World.

Today the Soviet Union is seeking economic support from the West more eagerly than ever before, and Soviet leaders are willing to make foreign policy concessions in order to get this aid. For example, in a major departure from its previous policy, the Soviet Union agreed in 1990 to withdraw its objections to the reunification of East and West Germany in exchange for West Germany's promises of financial assistance. World socialist revolution is no longer a priority for Soviet leaders, who are more eager to build Soviet economic power through participation in the global economy.

Government

For most of its history, the Soviet Union has been a one-party state. In 1918, the first Soviet leader, Vladimir Lenin, banned all political parties other than the Communist party. From that time until 1989, Soviet voters had no opportunity to choose among candidates with differing political viewpoints. Authoritarian rule

Novosti Press Agency

The Kremlin, a walled fortress built hundreds of years ago, is now the seat of the Supreme Soviet and many other government offices. Several churches and small palaces housing czarist artifacts lie within the brick walls of the Kremlin.

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by the Communist party repressed individual liberties including freedom of speech, religion, and the press.

Recently, dramatic changes in the Soviet government have occurred in three broad areas. First, although the Communist party still holds more power than any other political organization, it has relinquished its monopoly, allowing other candidates to run for government office. Second, the structure of the Soviet government has been altered to make it more democratic. Finally, the policies of *glasnost*, or "openness," have increased the basic rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens.

The Party's Over?

In 1990, the Soviet legislature, known as the Congress of People's Deputies, voted to end the Communist party's strict control of the government and to allow other parties to compete for political influence. New parties quickly formed. Some parties fought for one issue, such as independence from Soviet rule. Others supported a variety of reforms for the economy and society as a whole. Yet the Communist party continues to exert power in Soviet society, and many Soviet citizens and leaders remain loyal to it.

The Communist party has local organizations throughout the country that elect delegates to the national Communist Party Congress. The Congress elects members to the Central Committee, which meets several times a year and has departments that set goals for industry, culture, ideology, and other aspects of society.

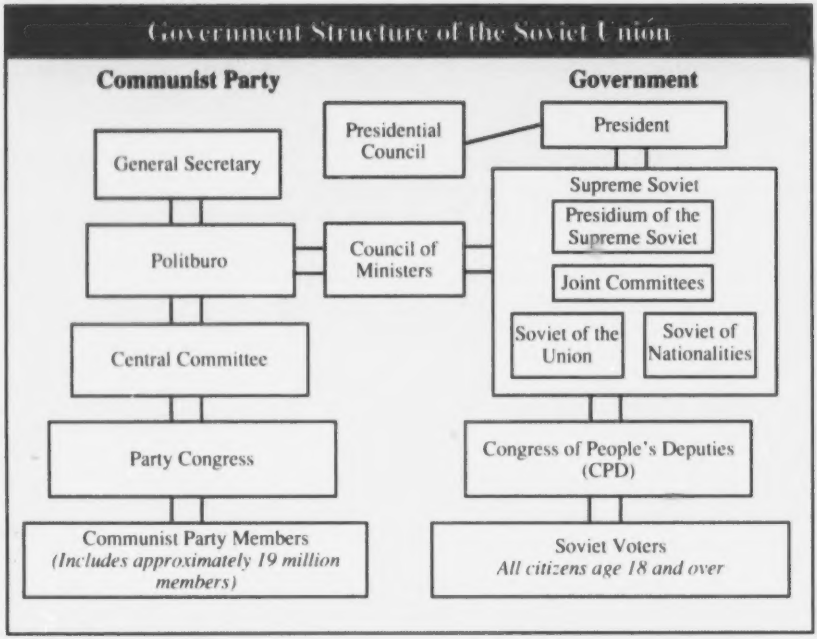
The Central Committee elects members of the Politburo, who were, until recent reforms, the most powerful policymakers in the Soviet Union. The Politburo is made up of eleven voting members who meet weekly to direct the everyday business of the Communist party. Chief of the Politburo is the general secretary. For most of the history of the Soviet Union, the position of general secretary of the Communist party was the most powerful position in the nation. Today, the president of the Soviet Union has greater executive powers than the general secretary.

A New Government Structure

The structure of the Soviet government has recently undergone significant changes. In May 1989, a new Soviet legislative body, the Congress of People's Deputies (CPD), met for the first time. Then in March 1990, the Soviet presidency gained greater executive power.

For several reasons, the structure of the Soviet government is more complex than that of the United States. First, an enormous bureaucracy is necessary to handle the economic planning functions of the government. Second, the Soviet Union's nationalities are not simply part of the general electorate, as are minorities in the United States. The legislative branch has special bodies that deal only with questions related to the nationalities. Finally, the system is still evolving. The remnants of the old party-dominated structure are being combined with a new, independent structure. Thus, an already complicated system has become even more complex.

Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet. There are two legisla-



tive bodies in the Soviet Union's government—the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. The legislative body with the most power is the Congress of People's Deputies. Currently, the CPD elects both members of the Supreme Soviet and the president.

Elections to the first Congress of People's Deputies were the most freely contested in Soviet history, having both Communist and non-Communist candidates. Many non-Communists won seats in the CPD. The body is made up of 2,250 members who meet once each year to consider legislation proposed by the Supreme Soviet or by the president.

The Congress of People's Deputies is responsible for amending the Soviet Constitution, approving any border changes in the republics, and deciding whether a proposed law should be put to a referendum. The Congress can also revoke laws passed by the Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet, the standing legislature of the Soviet Union, meets for two four-month terms each year to prepare legislation for consideration by the larger Congress of People's Deputies. The Supreme Soviet is made up of two chambers of 271 members each: the Soviet of the Union, which handles issues that affect the entire nation, and the Soviet of Nationalities, which handles issues that affect various ethnic groups.

Like the U.S. Congress, the Supreme Soviet passes laws, creates ministries (executive departments), and approves

the national budget. However, unlike its American counterpart, the Supreme Soviet also interprets laws, elects the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union, and appoints military commanders. The Supreme Soviet has the power to revoke decrees by the Council of Ministers.

Council of Ministers and Presidential Council. The Council of Ministers is similar to the executive branch of the U.S. government or the president's cabinet, but it is responsible to the Supreme Soviet, not the president. The Council has about 100 members, more than half of whom are economic administrators. These ministers oversee all major industries.

The Presidential Council is also similar to the U.S. cabinet, in that its members are close advisers of the president. Members of the Presidential Council hold other government offices in addition to positions on the Council. They are appointed by the president and are chiefly responsible for national security issues and helping to implement domestic and foreign policy.

The President. With the reforms enacted in March 1990, the Soviet presidency—which had traditionally been a ceremonial post—gained much greater executive power. The first executive president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, was elected by the Congress of People's Deputies. Future presidents may be elected by a popular vote of the nation's citizens. The president's term lasts five years, as opposed to the the U.S. presidential term of four years. Like U.S. presidents, Soviet presidents are limited to two terms.

The Soviet president may propose legislation, negotiate treaties, and declare war. He or she can overrule decisions by the Council of Ministers or other governmental groups if they violate the constitution or endanger people's rights. The president also appoints the chairperson of the Supreme Soviet, unlike the U.S. president who has no power to appoint leaders of Congress. Like the U.S. president, the Soviet president can veto laws passed by the legislative branch. The Supreme Soviet can overrule a presidential veto with a two-thirds majority. The Supreme Soviet can also impeach and remove a Soviet president if he or she takes illegal actions.

The Judicial System. Lower courts—known as People's Courts—try about 98 percent of all cases in the Soviet Union. Soviet citizens are not entitled to a trial by jury as are U.S. citizens. A professional judge and two "people's assessors," who are ordinary citizens, judge each case. Persons accused of crimes in the Soviet Union must prove their innocence, and are usually not entitled to a defense lawyer until after a preliminary investigation is complete. In contrast, in the United States the accused is innocent until proven guilty, and is entitled to the services of a lawyer from the moment he or she is arrested.

The Supreme Courts of the republics and the national Supreme Court are reserved for only the most complex cases. The Supreme Court of the Soviet Union is appointed by the Supreme Soviet and does not have much independent power. There is no tradition in which courts interpret or rule on the constitutionality of laws as in the United States.

In the United States, the independence of the judiciary is protected by the fact that Supreme Court judges are appointed for life. In the Soviet Union, however, all judges are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the republics or the national Supreme Soviet for ten-year terms. People's assessors are elected for five-year terms.

Soviet Federalism. Each Soviet republic has its own constitution and elected government, patterned after the national government. In principle, the republics operate independently, but voluntarily give up certain powers to the national government. In practice, however, the national government exerts enormous control over the republics through centralized management of the economy.

Recently, political movements in all the republics have demanded greater local control over allocation of resources, economic planning, and political life. Some republics want to draft a new agreement detailing the relationship between the republics and the national government. In other republics, however, popular feeling against the national government is so strong that secession is being discussed. In March 1990, the republic of Lithuania was the first to declare its total independence from Soviet rule. To date, the Soviet government has refused to recognize Lithuania's declaration, although the Soviet constitution does allow secession.

Glasnost

For most of Soviet history, the government systematically denied its citizens basic civil rights and freedoms that were guaranteed in the Soviet constitution, including religious freedom, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. The Communist party allowed no activities that threatened its control. If a newspaper opposed a government policy, its freedom to publish was taken away and the editor might be jailed.

Under the policy of *glasnost*, or "openness," Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has allowed more personal freedom in the Soviet Union than ever before. Newspapers have criticized government policies and officials—even Gorbachev himself. People have held demonstrations and organized political

AP/Wide World Photos

Nuclear physicist and human rights advocate Andrei Sakharov was released in 1986 after seven years of house arrest as part of Mikhail Gorbachev's* glasnost *policies. Sakharov, who won the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to stop the nuclear arms race, was a leading critic of the Soviet government's repression of free speech. As a delegate to the first Congress of People's Deputies, Sakharov fought for human rights and democracy until his death in December 1989.

movements against the Communist party. Religious groups have worshipped openly.

Gorbachev did not implement *glasnost* for purely unselfish reasons. To restructure the economy and government as he planned, he needed popular support. Open criticism of the nation's economic stagnation and bureaucratic bottlenecks helped garner support for change and support for Gorbachev's policies.

The Changing World View of Soviet Communism

Because *glasnost* and the new structure of the Soviet government are still evolving, it is difficult to predict how they will change the Soviet Union's world view. Thus far, domestic policy changes have been accompanied by changes in foreign policy. As Soviet leaders have allowed greater freedom within the Soviet Union, they also have allowed greater freedom among their allies.

Traditionally, the Soviet Union demanded not just alliance from other Communist nations, but also obedience to all Soviet political decisions. Until recently, the Soviet Communist party's intolerance of dissent extended to its relations with allies. When Communist leaders in China, Yugoslavia, or France differed with the party philosophy formulated in Moscow, they were considered heretics and enemies of the Soviet Union. But in 1989 and 1990, the Communist leaders in Eastern Europe were overthrown, and in each nation, party members were free to adapt to the new situation without coercion from Moscow.

Comparing World Views

A nation's geography, economy, and government obviously affect its domestic policies as well as its foreign policies. In formulating foreign policy, all nations consider the complex relationship of domestic and international problems. In the past, for example, the Soviet Union's denial of religious freedom for Jews contributed to poor relations with Israel. In the United States, international treaties reducing weapons have decreased demand for the products of the American defense industry and may lead to factory closings and unemployment. Thus, domestic affairs both influence and are influenced by foreign affairs.

Geopolitics: Isolation or Intervention?

For most of its history, the United States has not had to fear invasion because it is geographically protected by oceans on the east and west and by friendly nations on the north and south. Until World War I, Americans generally preferred an isolationist foreign policy—remaining neutral in world conflicts, except those involving the Western Hemisphere. While dominating affairs in the Western Hemisphere, the geography of the United States allowed it to stay out of conflicts in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union's geography gives it territorial interests in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East—

Department of Defense

In December 1989, U.S. troops invaded Panama to oust Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega and install a democratic government. The United States has had an interest in Panamanian affairs since President Theodore Roosevelt encouraged the 1903 coup that led to Panamanian independence from Colombia.

often placing the Soviets in the midst of conflicts with powerful neighbors. Therefore, the Soviet government has pursued involvement, not isolationism, in world affairs.

Economic Goals and Foreign Policy

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have used economic ties with other nations to increase growth and prosperity at home. For example, U.S. businesses have invested in Latin America for more than 150 years, taking advantage of the region's agricultural and industrial opportunities. Politicians sought to protect U.S. economic interests in Central and South America and to ensure that European powers did not try to exert control over the region.

In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt argued that the United States had the right to intervene in the affairs of other American nations and to exercise an "international police power" in the Western Hemisphere. In practice, this police power meant that if political developments in a nation threatened American investments, the government might intervene to be sure the outcome was favorable to the United States.

The Soviet Union has generally not enjoyed friendly relations with its neighbors. Like the czars of the Russian Empire, early Soviet leaders believed in conquering as much territory as possible to prevent invasions from Europe and Asia. Soviet leaders have used military force to install or maintain communist governments in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

When the Soviet Union took control of Eastern Europe, the Soviets gained access to the area's resources and skilled workers as well as a market for Soviet products. Today, even though Eastern European nations have cut political ties to the Soviet Union, their economic ties remain.

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989 after ten years of fighting to uphold a communist government there. The Afghan guerrilla forces, supported by U.S. military aid, included many Islamic religious factions united chiefly by their opposition to communist rule.

Political Ideology and Foreign Policy

The ideals of the U.S. and Soviet governments also have an impact on their world views. Most Americans believe that their form of democratic government is best. They value personal freedom and believe that people in every nation should enjoy the freedom to say what they think, belong to the political party of their choice, and practice their chosen religion. U.S. foreign policymakers often pledge to defend democracy and freedom around the world and send aid to people oppressed by undemocratic governments.

The Soviet Union was founded on the belief that socialism and then communism would spread throughout the world. The Soviet people were supposed to lead other nations to communism, ending capitalism once and for all. Soviet foreign policymakers carried out these ideals by sending military and economic aid to revolutionary groups around the world that were trying to create communist societies.

Of course, the history of U.S.-Soviet relations includes more than geopolitical, economic, and ideological interests. Religious beliefs, the personalities of leaders, the actions of other nations, and many additional factors contribute to international relations. Events around the globe can influence U.S.-Soviet relations in ways that neither nation can predict or control.

Evolution of U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1917-1985

2

From 1917 through much of the 1980s, Americans and Soviets most often viewed each other with suspicion and fear. But relations between the two nations were not static. Over the years, U.S.-Soviet relations evolved from quiet contempt to close alliance to outright hostility.

Before World War II, both the United States and the Soviet Union focused their attention more on domestic concerns than international relations. But domestic concerns often affected—and were affected by—international relations.

During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union put aside their differences to achieve a common goal: the defeat of Nazi Germany. After the war, economic and political differences reemerged, and both nations became more concerned with foreign affairs than they had been previously. But by this time the stakes had increased because each of the two nations now possessed the power to annihilate not only each other, but the rest of the world as well. Although neither the Soviets nor the Americans wanted to fight a nuclear war, their disagreements over the shape of the postwar world were too great to compromise. As a consequence, the Cold War began.

During the Cold War era, U.S.-Soviet relations fluctuated between fierce competition and grudging cooperation. By the mid-1980s, the mood of U.S.-Soviet relations was still deeply antagonistic. No armistice had yet been signed to end the Cold War.

Questions to Consider While You Read

1. What was the Red Scare of 1919-1920? Why is the period of McCarthyism in the 1950s known as the second Red Scare?

2. How did the United States and the Soviet Union cooperate in fighting fascism during World War II? What events contributed to the breakdown in U.S.-Soviet cooperation after the war?

3. What does the term "Cold War" mean? What actions did the United States take at the beginning of the Cold War to contain communism?

4. Why did President Nixon stress the importance of detente with the Soviet Union in the 1970s? Why did the policy of detente lose support among U.S. policymakers?

5. What events contributed to renewed animosity between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Carter and Reagan administrations? Why did President Reagan encourage U.S. support for anti-communist leaders in Central America?

From Enemies to Allies: 1917-1945

Since the birth of the Soviet Union in 1917, most Americans have viewed the Soviet government with suspicion. While some Americans sympathized with the socialist goals of the Soviet government during the 1920s and 1930s, most feared that Soviet followers of Karl Marx would try to export their revolution to the United States, thereby causing bloodshed and the collapse of capitalism.

In the early 1940s, Americans put aside their fear of communism and embraced the Soviet Union as a wartime ally. The U.S.-Soviet alliance during World War II was based on mutual defense against a common enemy, rather than shared values and interests—so it quickly dissolved after the war.

War and Revolution

In 1914, the assassination of Austria's Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Serbian

Milestones in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1917-1945

1920 1925 1930

1917 Revolutions in Russia. The United States recognizes the Provisional Government, but does not recognize the Bolshevik government.

1918 World War I ends. The Bolsheviks are not invited to treaty negotiations.

1919 America's first Communist party is formed in Chicago, Illinois. Red Scare begins.

Library of Congress

1921 Warren Harding becomes U.S. president. Arms control conference held in Washington, D.C. to discuss rights of major powers in the Pacific. Soviet Union is not invited.

1924 Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin dies. A four-year struggle for power ensues.

1925 Calvin Coolidge becomes U.S. president.

1928 Stalin consolidates power as Soviet leader, initiating first Five Year Plan.

1929 Herbert Hoover becomes U.S. president. U.S. stock market crashes, launching Great Depression.

1933 Franklin Roosevelt becomes U.S. president. United States begins diplomatic relations with Soviet Union.

nationalists sparked the beginning of World War I in Europe. A complicated set of alliances forced some nations to go to war in defense of Austria and others to side with Serbia. Germany and Austria-Hungary (known as the Central Powers) fought against Great Britain, France, and Russia (known as the Allied Powers).

Russia was not well prepared for war. Czar Nicholas II left the government in the hands of inept officials while he assumed command of Russia's military forces. On the front, shortages of weapons and ammunition frustrated the military's efforts, while food shortages led citizens to desperate action at home.

The Provisional Government. By March 1917, after three years of war with no end in sight, people in the city of Petrograd (now Leningrad) protested in the streets, demanding that the government take action to end food shortages. The government ordered out troops to stop the demonstration, but the troops, who were as frustrated as the protesters, joined in the revolt.

1935 1940 1945

1936 Spanish Civil War begins. Fascist forces oppose a Nationalist coalition of liberals and communists. The United States remains neutral, while the Soviet Union aids the Nationalists.

1937 Purges of alleged counter-revolutionaries begin in the Soviet Union.

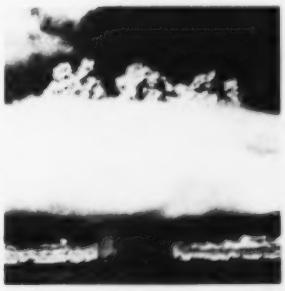
1939 Germany and the Soviet Union sign a non-aggression treaty. The United States refuses to recognize the division of Poland in this treaty.

1940 Congress passes Smith Act, making it illegal to advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government.

1941 Hitler invades Soviet Union. United States promises to send military aid to the Soviets. United States enters World War II.

1943 Tehran Conference

1945 Yalta Conference. Harry Truman becomes U.S. president. Potsdam Conference. United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ending World War II and ushering in the nuclear age.



Pan Am DNA Photo

Realizing that the people no longer had faith in the czarist government, members of the *Duma*—the Russian legislature—formed a Provisional Government that would run the country until elections could be held and a new constitution could be drafted. Nicholas II abdicated the throne, and Russian nobleman Prince Georgi Lvov became prime minister.

The year 1917 was one of rapid change. Each month a new turn of events altered the political climate. In the months following the March revolution, the Provisional Government, which was supported by middle- and upper-class Russians, worked closely with the Petrograd Soviet, a socialist organization elected by factory workers and soldiers. *Soviets*, or councils, sprang up in other Russian cities and were coordinated by the Petrograd Soviet. Members of the soviets, who had much popular support, hoped to participate in future elections and in drafting a new Russian constitution.

The Bolsheviks. The Petrograd Soviet was made up of many different socialist political factions, the most radical of which were the Bolsheviks. Their leader, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov—known by his revolutionary name of Lenin—summed up Bolshevik promises in his slogan "Peace, Bread, and Land." The Bolsheviks pledged to withdraw from the war quickly, end food shortages, and distribute land to poor farmers.

The Petrograd Soviet gave its approval to many of the Provisional Government's first actions, including a declaration of freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly. But members of the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet differed sharply over foreign policy. The government continued to keep Russian troops in the war, although both soldiers and ordinary citizens had lost the will to fight. By June, the Soviet was dominated by the Bolshevik party and began to undermine the government's authority by urging soldiers to ignore any orders that conflicted with the Soviet's policies.

By July, the government felt so threatened by the Bolsheviks that the party was outlawed and had to operate in secret. Alexander Kerensky, a moderate socialist, replaced Prince Lvov as prime minister and created a coalition cabinet of non-Bolshevik members of the Petrograd Soviet and conservative government officials. But the new cabinet did not solve the pressing issues of war and food shortages. By November, the nation was in turmoil as soldiers deserted the army, peasants seized land, and workers took control of factories. The Bolsheviks turned the chaotic situation to their advantage and overthrew Russia's Provisional Government with little bloodshed. Lenin became the leader of a new soviet-based government.

After the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin quickly entered peace negotiations with the Central Powers. In March 1918, the Soviet government and the German government signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, in which the Soviets ceded much of their western territory to Germany. World War I had finally ended for the Russian people. But a new war was beginning.

Civil War and War Communism. In 1918, the Bolsheviks renamed themselves the Communist party and Russia

became the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. From 1918 to 1921, the Communists—also known as the Reds—engaged in a bitter civil war with a loose coalition of different political factions known as the Whites. Some Whites wanted to return to a monarchy ruled by a czar; others wanted a constitutional democracy like those in Western Europe. What they shared was strong opposition to Bolshevik plans to pursue communism and world revolution.

In an effort to win the civil war, the Bolsheviks instituted "war communism," tightening the party's control over the nation. As part of war communism, the Bolsheviks abandoned democratic decision-making processes and imposed strict adherence to directives from the *Politburo*, the party's policymaking body. Furthermore, virtually all industry was *nationalized*, or put under government control. As a result, bureaucrats in Moscow, not workers, managed factories, and production declined dramatically.

In the agricultural sector, war communism meant forced requisition. Peasant farmers were forced to produce grain and livestock for the government, rather than for themselves. This policy quickly led to severe food shortages, as farmers cut back production and resisted selling their products for rubles that had become worthless as the government printed more and more money to finance the civil war.

In 1921, war communism was abandoned in favor of the New Economic Policy (NEP). Under NEP, farmers and small business operators were freed from tight government controls, but the government still maintained power over large enterprises.

U.S.-Soviet Relations Begin

Soon after the overthrow of the czar, the United States entered World War I on the side of the Allies. Most Americans were isolationist when World War I broke out in Europe. In fact, President Woodrow Wilson was reelected in 1916 in part because he had kept the United States out of the European conflict. When the United States finally did enter the war, Wilson gained the support of many Americans by declaring that the war was being fought "to make the world safe for democracy." American troops ultimately proved crucial to the Allied victory in 1918.

As they had promised, the Bolsheviks withdrew from World War I in early 1918. The Allies saw this as a betrayal of Russia's military responsibilities. In the summer of 1918, Allied troops landed in Russia to make sure that the Germans did not capture Russian war materials. In addition to protecting supplies, however, the Allies gave weapons to the Whites to help them win the civil war.

By 1920, most foreign troops had left Russia and the Red Army had defeated the Whites. However, the Allied intervention in the civil war angered the Bolshevik government and contributed to strained relations between the United States and the Soviet Union from the very beginning.

The Red Scare. After World War I, many Americans feared that radical movements, especially communism, were gaining popularity in the United States. The height of anti-communism, from 1919 through 1920, became known as the "Red Scare." Several factors contributed to the Red Scare.

Chicago Historical Society

First, strikes and violence between American labor unions and employers increased dramatically after the war. Although some labor unions, such as the Industrial Workers of the World, advocated a socialist revolution in the United States, most unions simply wanted higher wages and better working conditions.

A second factor contributing to the Red Scare was a burst of immigration to the United States after World War I. Many of the newest immigrants were from southern and eastern Europe, where socialism was an important political movement. Americans' fear of radicals translated into a fear of immigrants. Consequently, Congress passed several restrictive immigration laws in the 1920s, severely limiting the number of eastern and southern Europeans who could enter the country.

Finally, America's suspicion of Soviet intentions was reinforced when the Soviet Union organized the Communist International, or Comintern. The Comintern was composed of representatives from the Communist parties of many nations. The Soviets encouraged all Comintern members—including those living in the United States—to subvert

their governments and work to bring about communist revolutions.

In 1920, U.S. fear of radicalism reached a peak when Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer ordered the arrests of thousands of people whom he suspected of being communists. Some of the most well-known radicals captured during the "Palmer raids" were deported to the Soviet Union. Although the greatest excesses of the Red Scare were over by 1921, suspicion of labor unions, foreigners, and radicals continued throughout the 1920s.

American Communism and the Popular Front. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the socialist movement played an important role in left-wing American politics. By the 1930s, however, the Socialist party took a back seat to the growing Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). In fact, by 1939, the CPUSA had some 100,000 members—a small number when compared to the two major political parties, but a significant size for a minor party. Using the slogan "Communism Is Twentieth-Century Americanism," the Communist party attracted members for two main reasons.

First, the Great Depression called into question the viability of the capitalist system, and made communism's pledge of full employment and power for ordinary workers seem quite attractive. The CPUSA organized unions, aided the unemployed, and offered equality within the party to women and minorities at a time when discrimination was common in American society.

The second reason that the Communist party gained support in the United States was its strong stand against *fascism*, a political movement that exalted nationalism and dictatorship. The fascist movement grew powerful in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, with the rise of leaders such as Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany. In 1935, the Comintern began to cooperate with non-Communist political movements to form a worldwide "Popular Front" against fascism.

The cartoon "Just Another Customer" appeared in 1933, the year the United States officially recognized the Soviet Union. By this time, both nations wanted to cooperate in bringing the world economy out of depression and in deterring Japanese aggression in Asia. However, as the cartoon implies, President Roosevelt had to reassure concerned citizens that the United States was not compromising its values by recognizing the communist government.

Stalinism and Disillusionment. After 1939, membership in the CPUSA declined as news of political repression and *purges* under Soviet leader Josef Stalin reached the United States. During the 1930s, Stalin ordered mock trials of his political enemies and executed them for treason. He had thousands of political and religious dissidents deported to concentration camps in Siberia. Many American communists were appalled by Stalin's use of terror and resigned from the Communist party.

Even more Americans became disillusioned with the Communist party after the Soviet Union signed the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact in August 1939. The Soviets signed the pact after a series of events that led them to fear for their own security.

The Road to War. In 1938, representatives from Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and France had held a conference in Munich, Germany to discuss Adolf Hitler's plan to annex part of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union was not invited to the Munich Conference and, as a result, the Soviets were suspicious of British and French motives. At the conference, the British and French adopted a policy of *appeasement*—giving in to Hitler's territorial demands in order to avoid another war. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain returned home from the conference jubilantly assuring the world that the European leaders had secured "peace for our time." The Soviets, however, feared that the western powers might soon try to appease Germany with more territories in Eastern Europe or even in the Soviet Union itself.

Following the Munich Conference, Hitler's armies conquered Czechoslovakia and began demanding concessions from Poland. The Soviet Union, poorly prepared for a major war and hoping to avoid conflict at least temporarily, signed the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. In addition to preventing a German invasion, the pact also allowed the Soviets to expand into eastern Poland, the Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and Finland. The Soviets' collaboration with Hitler reinforced the belief of some Americans that the Soviet Union could not be trusted.

A week after the pact was signed, Hitler's army invaded Poland. The invasion outraged Great Britain and France, leading them to abandon appeasement and declare war on Germany.

For about eighteen months, Stalin's pact with Hitler forestalled a German invasion of the Soviet Union. During those months the German *wehrmacht*—"war machine"—conquered Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France. Now, only Great Britain stood alone against the *blitzkrieg*, or "lightning war," of the Nazis; that is, until Hitler broke his treaty with Stalin and marched German troops into the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941.

The United States was not neutral during this time. The American government sent military supplies to both Great Britain and the Soviet Union to support their efforts against Germany, but the American public did not fully support U.S. participation in the war until the United States itself was attacked.

On December 7, 1941, Japan—which was allied with Germany and had

been waging a bloody war in Asia for several years—bombed the U.S. naval base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. President Roosevelt, calling December 7 "a date which will live in infamy," immediately asked Congress to declare war on both Germany and Japan.

The Grand Alliance

World War II made unlikely allies of capitalists and communists. Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States joined forces in what became known as the Grand Alliance. The political leaders of the Grand Alliance—Winston Churchill, Josef Stalin, and Franklin Roosevelt—worked together to develop an overall strategy for winning the war. Although their postwar aims differed, all three leaders agreed that defeating Germany was the top priority.

Winning the War. Stalin argued that the most effective strategy against Germany would be to open a second front in Western Europe as quickly as possible. The second front would weaken Germany's position by forcing Hitler to divide his army. In addition, the second front would strengthen the Soviet position by diverting German troops from the Soviet front.

U.S. Army

In the spring of 1945, American and Soviet soldiers greeted each other warmly when their victorious armies met in Germany.

President Roosevelt initially agreed with Stalin and pledged to open a second front in 1942. However, Churchill would not agree to the plan until the Allies were fully prepared with the necessary weapons and equipment. Thus, the invasion of France by U.S. and British troops did not occur until the summer of 1944.

Meanwhile, the British and Americans fought the German-led enemy in North Africa, Italy, and the Pacific, while the Soviet Union suffered the greatest casualties and destruction of the war. It is estimated that almost 10 percent of the Soviet population died in the war—compared to less than one half of one percent of the U.S. population. In addition, tens of thousands of Soviet towns and villages were destroyed.

With the aid of weapons and supplies from Great Britain and the United States, the advancing German army was finally halted in 1943 at the Battle of Stalingrad (now called Volgograd). After the Soviet victory at Stalingrad, the Germans were forced to retreat farther and farther each month. By the time British and American forces defeated Mussolini's armies in Italy in the spring of 1944, the Soviets had pushed the Germans back to Eastern Europe. In June 1944, British and American troops landed in France. In 1945, British and American armies rolled eastward to meet the Soviet armies in Germany. Hitler committed suicide in April 1945, and Germany surrendered to the Allies on May 8.

Library of Congress

In February 1945, although in poor health, Franklin Roosevelt (center) attended an important wartime conference with Winston Churchill (left) and Josef Stalin (right) at the Soviet resort of Yalta. At the meeting, the three leaders signed a "Declaration on Liberated Europe," calling for free elections throughout Europe at the earliest possible date.

Wartime Diplomacy. During the war, three major diplomatic conferences were held among the Allies to discuss both short-term military strategy and long-term diplomatic strategy. At the first conference, held in Tehran, Iran, in 1943, Stalin promised to join in the fight against Japan after Germany was defeated.

At the second conference, held in the Soviet resort of Yalta in February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin concluded the most important agreements on postwar Europe. By this time, Soviet forces had already occupied most of Eastern Europe as they pursued the retreating German army. To meet the Soviets' desire for security, Churchill and Roosevelt agreed that they could maintain a sphere of influence in the territories they occupied. Roosevelt insisted, and Stalin agreed, that free elections would be held in Eastern Europe. After the war, however, the Soviets installed communist governments, and free elections did not take place in much of Eastern Europe for forty-five years.

At the final diplomatic conference, held in Potsdam, Germany, in July 1945, new U.S. President Harry Truman, new British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, and Stalin finalized plans for the division of Germany into four zones of occupation, to be administered by the British, French, Americans and Soviets. In addition, the German capital of Berlin, in the Soviet zone, was to be divided among the four powers.

Soon after the Potsdam Conference, the Soviet Union and the rest of the world watched the balance of world power tip decidedly toward the United States with the explosion of atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan surrendered and World War II ended, but the seeds of a new conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union were already germinating.

Cold War Rivalry: 1945-1964

The nations of Europe were devastated by World War II. But the United States and the Soviet Union, through heroic efforts to expand their military and economic strength to defeat their enemies, emerged from the war as the world's greatest powers.

Instead of bringing these two powers closer together, however, World War II increased their mistrust of one another. The long delay by the United States and Great Britain in opening a second front in Europe left bitter feelings among the Soviets. Soviet leaders suspected the western powers of using the delay to limit their own casualties—at the expense of Soviet lives. On the other hand, U.S. policymakers were angry that the Soviets had originally signed a nonaggression pact with Hitler and then had used the defeat of the German army in Eastern Europe to expand Soviet power there.

As the United States and the Soviet Union increased their influence in the world, their differences seemed to magnify. The Soviet Union was still a one-party state, dedicated to socialism, while the United States remained devoted to democracy and capitalism. Yet each wanted to remake the postwar world in its own image.

American financier Bernard Baruch used the term *Cold War* to describe this rivalry for world influence. In a "Cold War," antagonism exists between nations, but stops short of military battles. The term now characterizes the era of U.S.-Soviet relations from 1945 through the 1980s.

Launching the Cold War

Immediately following World War II, it became apparent that the United States and the Soviet Union did not share the same vision of the postwar world. U.S. policymakers put the self-determination of European nations first, while the Soviets gave their own security needs top priority. In Eastern Europe, local communist leaders, who closely cooperated with Moscow, took power in Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and Poland soon after the war. Czechoslovakia came into the Soviet bloc after a communist coup in 1948.

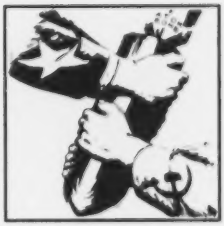
Containment and the Truman Doctrine. In 1946, U.S. diplomat George F. Kennan headed a group of policymakers that developed the principle of *containment*, which dominated American foreign policy for two decades. Containment was based on the assumption that the Soviet Union was trying to expand its sphere of influence. In response, the United States said it would try to "contain" communism by opposing any expansion of Soviet power beyond Eastern Europe.

In 1947 President Truman implemented the containment policy in southeastern Europe. Truman requested $400 million in military and economic aid from Congress for Greece and Turkey. Truman believed that communist forces might win the civil war that was raging in Greece at the time and that Turkey was also in danger of coming under communist influence. In what became known as the *Truman Doctrine*, Truman maintained that "it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." Congress quickly approved aid to Greece and Turkey, initiating a long-term commitment to using foreign aid to forestall communist gains throughout the world.

The Marshall Plan. Within weeks after aid to Greece and Turkey had been approved, Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed a massive aid plan for war-torn Europe. The Nazi *blitzkrieg* and Allied bombing had reduced Europe's cities and factories to rubble. Both Mar-

Milestones in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1945-1964

1945 1950



Library of Congress

1945 United Nations is formed.

1946 UN attempts to put atomic energy and weapons under international control. Soviets refuse U.S.-sponsored "Baruch Plan," and ask that the United States destroy all its atomic weapons. No agreement is reached.

Winston Churchill coins the term "iron curtain" to describe the division between communist and democratic Europe.

1947 Truman Doctrine announced. United States initiates Marshall Plan.

1948 Berlin blockade and airlift.

1949 Mao Zedong and communists are victorious in China. NATO is formed. Soviet Union tests its first atomic bomb.

1950 United States leads a UN force to drive North Koreans from South Korea.

1952 United States tests first hydrogen bomb.

1953 Soviet Union tests its first hydrogen bomb. Stalin dies. Dwight Eisenhower becomes U.S. president.

shall and President Truman feared that economic deprivation was causing more and more Europeans to be swayed by communist politicians who promised relief.

The European Recovery Program, commonly known as the Marshall Plan, consisted of billions of dollars in grants and low-interest loans to help Western European nations rebuild their economies. Marshall Plan funds were offered to the Soviet Union and its satellites, but they declined to participate.

A Divided Germany. The decisions made at Potsdam regarding the occupation of Germany led to conflict. In 1948, the Soviet Union tried to oust the British, French, and Americans from their occupation zones in Berlin in order to consolidate Soviet rule in eastern Germany. When the western powers refused to leave, the Soviets blockaded all highways, rivers, and railroads leading to West Berlin.

In response to the blockade, U.S. and British pilots transported food and

55 1960 1965

1955 West Germany joins NATO. Warsaw Pact formed.

1956 Khrushchev consolidates power as Soviet leader and denounces Stalin at Twentieth Party Congress.

Hungarians rise up to protest Soviet domination. Revolt is crushed by Soviet troops.

National Archives

1957 Soviet Union launches Sputnik, prompting United States to enter space race.

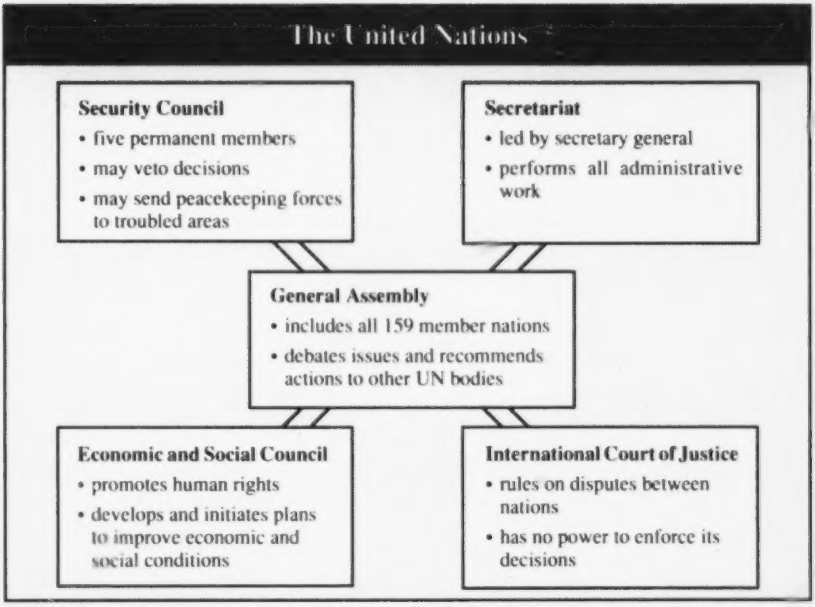
1961 John Kennedy becomes U.S. president. East Germans erect Berlin Wall. U.S. sponsors Bay of Pigs invasion.

1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. Kennedy and Cuban-Americans honor those who died in Bay of Pigs invasion.

National Archives

1963 United States and Soviet Union sign Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Kennedy is assassinated. Lyndon Johnson becomes U.S. president.

1964 Khrushchev is ousted. Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin share power as Soviet leaders.


The United Nations
Security Council
• five permanent members
• may veto decisions
• may send peacekeeping forces to troubled areas
Secretariat
• led by secretary general
• performs all administrative work
General Assembly
• includes all 159 member nations
• debates issues and recommends actions to other UN bodies
Economic and Social Council
• promotes human rights
• develops and initiates plans to improve economic and social conditions
International Court of Justice
• rules on disputes between nations
• has no power to enforce its decisions

In 1945, delegates from fifty nations came together to form the United Nations (UN), an organization designed to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." In addition to providing a forum for solving international disputes, the United Nations has also worked to improve the health, education, and quality of life of people around the world.

supplies to West Berlin's citizens for almost a year, until the Soviets lifted the blockade. Thus, Berlin became a symbol of defiance of Soviet control.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Berlin blockade made it clear that the hostility between the Soviet Union and the West would not disappear quickly. In 1949, the United States reversed a two-hundred-year-old policy of avoiding peacetime alliances by joining with Canada and ten European nations to form the *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO). NATO was designed to provide greater military security for Western Europe, and held that an attack on one member nation would be considered an attack on all of them.

At first, the Soviet Union did nothing to counter the NATO alliance—perhaps because Soviet military security and bargaining power were enhanced in 1949 with the successful testing of the first Soviet-built atomic bomb. But in 1955, West Germany, which—like Japan—was left without any military organizations after the war, joined NATO and began to rearm for defensive purposes. The Soviets perceived this as a new threat to their security and created a military alliance with Eastern European nations, known as the Warsaw Pact.

Cold War in Asia

After World War II, Europe was the main arena of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. In Asia, despite Stalin's objections, Japan was firmly under the influence of U.S. forces. Nevertheless, the two superpowers vied for allies in China, Korea, and Vietnam.

Red China. The first conflict between U.S. and Soviet allies in Asia occurred in China. A battle between Nationalist forces and Communist forces had been raging since before World War II. The United States supported the Nationalists under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), while the Soviet Union aided the Communists under Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung).

D.C. Public Library

The Voice of America (VOA) radio network was originally established in 1942 to broadcast war information. After the war, VOA began broadcasting American news and music to communist nations to foster a better understanding of American society there.

Aware that Jiang's government was corrupt and did not have the support of the majority of China's people, President Truman tried to convince Jiang to institute economic and political reforms to win the confidence of the people. Although Truman admitted that Jiang was a poor ruler, the United States continued to provide the Nationalists with economic and military aid. The Nationalists seemed to provide the only alternative to Mao's Communists, who threatened to bring the vast nation of China into the Soviet sphere.

In 1949, Jiang's army was defeated and forced to retreat to the island of Formosa, or Taiwan. The United States refused to acknowledge the existence of the communist People's Republic of China, or "Red China," and continued to maintain strong ties with the Nationalist government on Taiwan. It was not until thirty years later that the United States opened official diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

The Korean War. After Mao's successful revolution, Truman realized that fighting communism on the vast continent of Asia might require more resources than the United States could commit. Therefore, containment policy was modified to state that the United States would only be bound to defend the area from Alaska's Aleutian Islands to Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines. In the rest of Asia, the United States expected the people in each country to defend themselves and the United Nations (UN) to be responsible for military security.

In spite of this declaration, when North Korean troops supplied by the Soviet Union attacked South Korea in June 1950, Truman immediately sent U.S. troops to the aid of South Korea. Korea had been split between Soviet and American occupation troops after Japanese forces were driven out. Truman asked the UN Security Council to authorize a UN "police action." By chance, the Soviet delegate to the Security Council was boycotting the body because of its refusal to recognize the People's Republic of China, and therefore the Soviets were unable to veto the UN action.

The Korean War continued until an armistice was signed in 1953. Under the terms of the armistice, Korea was divided at the 38th parallel, with North Korea remaining allied with the Soviet Union and South Korea closely tied to the United States.

Ho Chi Minh and the Domino Theory. Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh was a fervent nationalist and communist who fought to free his country from the control of French colonizers. Ho and his followers, known as the *Vietminh*, had

assisted the U.S. military in fighting Japan during World War II. But after the war, the United States supported France in suppressing Ho's rebellion.

In 1954 France, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other concerned nations held a peace conference in Geneva, Switzerland, to determine the future of Vietnam. The Geneva accords divided Vietnam in half at the 17th parallel, with Ho Chi Minh's Soviet-backed government controlling North Vietnam, and Bao Dai, a leader supported by France and the United States, in control in South Vietnam. National elections were to be held within two years to unify the two Vietnams.

By 1956 the United States was backing a new anti-communist leader in South Vietnam—Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem had little popular support compared with Ho Chi Minh. Therefore, rather than risk reunifying Vietnam under Ho's communist regime, the United States supported Diem in refusing to participate with Ho in free elections as scheduled.

President Dwight Eisenhower, who succeeded Truman in 1953, presided over the end of the Korean War and increased American involvement in Vietnam. Eisenhower's belief in the *"domino theory"* prompted him to make a greater commitment to containing communism in Asia. The domino theory held that if one nation was taken over by communists, surrounding nations would soon fall to communism as well.

U.S. Department of State

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (left) and President Dwight Eisenhower worked closely together in formulating U.S. foreign policy.

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The Second Red Scare

The Cold War had serious effects on domestic politics in the United States. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, anti-communism pervaded American society to a greater extent than it had during the 1920s. Tension mounted between those who demanded strict measures to ensure national security and those who demanded freedom of political expression.

The anti-communist crusade began in earnest in 1947, when President Truman issued an executive order requiring that all federal employees take an oath of loyalty. In addition, Congress required labor leaders to pledge that they were not affiliated with the Communist party. Soon the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) began investigating Hollywood actors, directors, and writers suspected of having communist ties. Those who did not cooperate with the investigation were *blacklisted*—barred from employment.

Anti-communist investigations gained greater national attention in 1950 with the case of Alger Hiss, a State Department official charged with supplying secret documents to Soviet agents. Hiss was eventually convicted not of espionage, but of perjury. His trial influenced Congress to pass the Internal Security, or McCarran, Act of 1950, over the president's veto. This act required registration of all organizations with connections to the Communist party and barred the employment of communists in the defense industry.

UPI/Bettmann

In 1953, America's anti-communist fervor reached its zenith. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted of passing atomic weapons secrets to the Soviets, and became the first American civilians executed for wartime espionage. Also in 1953, Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin became chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee and launched a series of public hearings regarding alleged communist sympathizers in the State Department and U.S. military.

McCarthy often made sensational accusations without sufficient evidence—a practice that became known as *McCarthyism*. Public sympathy for McCarthy waned with the televised Army-McCarthy hearings. Many Americans were outraged by the senator's use of bullying tactics against the military. By this time, some members of Congress were speaking out against the denial of civil liberties in many of the government's anti-communist activities. Ultimately, McCarthy was censured by the Senate for improper conduct.

Although anti-communist campaigns declined after the mid-1950s, the government continued to require that Communist party members register under the Internal Security Act. Many Americans' lives were permanently scarred by the suspicion, accusations, and blacklisting of the "second Red Scare."

To prevent the further spread of communism in Asia, the United States formed a new military alliance—the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). In addition to the United States, SEATO's members included Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan.

"Peaceful Coexistence"

In the same year that Eisenhower became president, Josef Stalin died. After a three-year struggle, Nikita Khrushchev consolidated power as the new Soviet leader. Khrushchev softened Soviet policy toward the West by calling for *peaceful coexistence* of communist and capitalist societies. During the 1950s, Eisenhower and Khrushchev moved slowly toward improving U.S.-Soviet relations. Yet both leaders demonstrated that they were determined to protect their spheres of influence.

Massive Retaliation. President Eisenhower appointed as his secretary of state John Foster Dulles, a strong anti-communist who wanted to "roll back" communism from Eastern Europe. Together, Eisenhower and Dulles developed the military policy of *massive retaliation* to deal with the Soviet Union. Designed in part to limit the defense budget, massive retaliation threatened all-out use of nuclear weapons—rather than more expensive conventional forces—against Soviet aggression. Secretary Dulles maintained that the threat of massive retaliation would deter the Soviets from taking aggressive action. The massive retaliation principle led Americans and

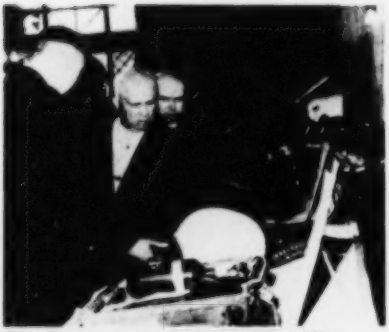
Soviets into an ever-escalating nuclear *arms race*, each year competing to build more powerful bombs and missiles.

Stirrings in Eastern Europe. Nikita Khrushchev was a reform-minded ruler who spoke out against abuses of power—especially those carried out under Stalin. Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalinist repression within the Soviet Union led leaders in the Soviet satellites to believe that he would also ease Soviet repression in Eastern Europe. In some instances, Khrushchev loosened the Soviet government's supervision of Eastern European nations, but in other cases he violently reasserted Soviet power in the region.

In Poland, Communist party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka, who had been purged from the party under Stalin, returned to power in 1956 and won more freedom from Soviet control for the Polish domestic economy. However, he maintained Poland's loyalty to the Warsaw Pact and followed Soviet foreign policy decisions.

In Yugoslavia, Khrushchev improved relations with Yugoslav leader Marshal Tito. Soviet-Yugoslav relations had been strained since 1948, when Tito refused to accept Stalin's plan to coordinate all communist parties through the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), which replaced the disbanded Comintern. Tito pursued his own road to communism and declined to join the Warsaw Pact.

Hungarian leader Imre Nagy led a revolt against Soviet authority in 1956. Nagy was a communist, but wanted to set up a multiparty system, not conforming to the Stalinist model of one-party government. Nagy also withdrew Hungary from the Warsaw Pact. Khrushchev quickly sent Soviet troops to crush the Hungarian rebellion, arrested and executed Nagy, and forced Hungary to renew its commitment to the Warsaw Pact. The United States denounced the repression of the revolt but did not intervene.



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The Soviet government put on public display wreckage from the American U-2 spy plane shot down over the Soviet Union in 1960. The Soviets tried pilot Francis Gary Powers for espionage and sentenced him to ten years in prison. In 1962 Powers was exchanged for a Soviet spy imprisoned in the United States.

Crisis in the Middle East. Competing for public attention with the Hungarian uprising in 1956 was a crisis in the Middle East. Egypt had become free of British colonial rule in 1952, and Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser had courted the United States and the Soviet Union, hoping for economic aid from both countries.

In the summer of 1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, a waterway vital to the transport of oil from the Middle East to Europe. Great Britain, France, and Israel responded to Egypt's seizure of the canal by sending troops to recap-

ture the waterway. Both the United States and the Soviet Union condemned the military action and convinced the nations involved to withdraw their troops, leaving Egypt in control of the canal.

As a result of the Suez Crisis, U.S. policymakers became more concerned about the growth of communism in the *Third World*—former colonies and other less-developed nations not formally allied with the United States or the Soviet Union. In 1957, President Eisenhower persuaded Congress to adopt what became known as the *Eisenhower Doctrine*. Under this policy, U.S. forces would aid any Middle Eastern nation that felt itself threatened by communist aggression.

U.S.-Soviet Summitry. Meetings of the highest leaders of two or more nations are known as *summit* conferences. In 1955 U.S. and Soviet leaders held their first summit conference of the Cold War era in Geneva, Switzerland. At the meeting, the United States proposed an "open skies" policy, with each nation allowing the other to take aerial photographs of military facilities. Although the Soviets did not agree to the open skies proposal, the Geneva meeting lessened tensions somewhat between the two nations.

In 1959 Vice President Richard Nixon visited Moscow to meet with Khrushchev to discuss the continuing Allied presence in Berlin. Again, no agreements were signed, but relations between U.S. and Soviet leaders seemed to be improving. A month after Nixon's trip to Moscow, Khrushchev became the first Soviet leader to make an official

Nixon Project, National Archives

In the summer of 1957, Vice President Richard Nixon visited Moscow. During the visit, Nixon and Khrushchev attended a U.S. trade exhibition complete with a model American kitchen. In a celebrated "Kitchen Debate," both leaders claimed to prefer U.S.-Soviet competition in washing machines rather than weapons.

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visit to the United States. On this visit, which included trips to observe American agriculture on an Iowa farm and a tour of a Hollywood film studio, Khrushchev and Eisenhower laid plans for a summit meeting in Geneva the following year.

In 1960, however, relations between the superpowers became strained when the Soviets shot down an American spy plane over their territory. Eisenhower initially denied any knowledge of the spy missions, but eventually admitted that he had known about and supported them. Khrushchev withdrew an invitation to Eisenhower to travel to the Soviet Union, and later that year negotiations broke down at the Geneva summit conference.

U.S.-Soviet relations continued to deteriorate at a United Nations conference held in New York City in September 1960 to discuss disarmament. During the conference, Khrushchev urged that the UN secretary general be replaced with a three-member committee representing U.S. allies, Soviet allies, and neutral nations. As the debates grew more heated, Khrushchev shocked the other delegates by pounding his desk with his shoe. No agreements were reached.

Breaking with China. While U.S.-Soviet relations were becoming more tense in the late 1950s and early 1960s, so were relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Chinese took a hostile stance toward the capitalist world and strongly criticized Khrushchev's summits with the United States and his policy of peaceful coexistence.

When Chinese representative Zhou Enlai walked out of the Twenty-second Communist Party Congress in 1961, the Albanian representatives followed. From this point on, the communist world was split between those in the Soviet camp and those in the Chinese camp.

Crisis and Competition

After President John Kennedy took office in 1961, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union reached a dangerous level of confrontation. The two nations drew perilously close to the brink of nuclear war, but peace prevailed and they signed their first treaty on the road to nuclear arms control. In addition, scientific competition between the United States and the Soviet Union grew in the 1960s. The United States also expanded its effort to improve alliances with Third World nations during this period.

Flexible Response. President Kennedy and his secretary of defense, Robert McNamara, abandoned Eisenhower's policy of massive retaliation in favor of the policy of *flexible response*. Flexible response established that the United States should not rely solely on nuclear weapons to deter war, but rather should maintain a variety of forces. The United States should be prepared to fight guerilla wars and conventional wars, and—only as a last resort—nuclear war.

This change in U.S. policy was influenced by the Soviet Union's increasing support of "wars of national liberation" in the Third World. If the Soviets supplied rifles to communist forces fighting a civil war in Africa or Asia, the

United States could not in good conscience respond with the massive destructive power of nuclear weapons. So Kennedy chose to vary U.S. tactics according to each situation. One result of the greater variety of military forces was a larger defense budget.

Crisis in Berlin. In June 1961, Kennedy and Khrushchev met in Vienna to discuss the Soviets' desire for the Western powers to leave Berlin. In August, with no agreement in sight, East Germany began erecting a barbed-wire barricade separating East and West Berlin to stop East Germans from fleeing to the west. Eventually, the makeshift fence became a formidable concrete wall guarded by armed soldiers.

In 1963, Kennedy visited the Berlin Wall to express America's sympathy and admiration for the citizens of divided Berlin. The president declared his solidarity with Berlin's citizens by saying *"Ich bin ein Berliner"*—"I am a Berliner." The wall became a symbol of the impenetrable barriers dividing the communist and capitalist worlds.

Cuban Crises and Aftermath. U.S. relations with Cuba had been strained since 1959, when a communist revolution overthrew the Cuban government. President Kennedy carried out a plan, developed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) under Eisenhower, to assist exiled Cuban nationalists in an invasion of Cuba designed to install a democratic government. However, the 1961 invasion of Cuba's Bay of Pigs was a fiasco, ending in the death or capture of most of the forces trained by the CIA.

National Archives

East German workers heightened the Berlin Wall to keep their fellow citizens from escaping to the West.

Khrushchev's Legacy

Nikita Khrushchev served as General Secretary of the Communist party for only a short time compared to Josef Stalin and Leonid Brezhnev, but his policies greatly influenced future leaders. In foreign policy, Khrushchev was much more willing than Stalin to engage in peaceful negotiations with the West. In 1955, he agreed to withdraw Soviet troops from Austria, which had been under Soviet occupation since World War II. He also held a summit meeting with President Eisenhower in that same year. However, the crushing of the Hungarian uprising and the Cuban Missile Crisis also occurred under Khrushchev's administration, proving that the Soviet Union was not yet willing to end the Cold War.

In domestic policy, Khrushchev implemented both disastrous experiments and far-reaching reforms. Perhaps most embarrassing was his "virgin lands" program, in which he wasted money and labor in an attempt to cultivate dry, unfarmable lands in Siberia and Central Asia.

But Khrushchev's most enduring legacy is the "de-Stalinization" of Soviet society. In February 1956, Khrushchev presided over the Twentieth Communist Party Congress. In his so-called "secret speech" he stood before a closed session of the congress for four hours, bitterly criticizing Stalin's reign of terror. Although Khrushchev himself was a high-ranking official under Stalin, he now loudly denounced the imprisonment and execution of thousands of innocent Soviet citizens.

Khrushchev's speech was not published in the Soviet Union, but was read at local party meetings throughout the communist world. Many Soviet citizens found it difficult to believe that Stalin could have been guilty of such atrocities. However, others seized upon the opportunity to debate the successes and failures of the Soviet system and called for greater reform.

Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin also helped consolidate his own power by putting those who had been close to Stalin in a bad light. In the end, however, Khrushchev's problems in both foreign and domestic policy enabled conservative party leaders to oust him.

Mikhail Gorbachev and other leaders of his generation have been called "children of the Twentieth Party Congress." Indeed, it is probably not a coincidence that the first Communist party congress held under Gorbachev opened on February 25, 1986—the thirtieth anniversary of Khrushchev's "secret speech." Although Khrushchev was a far less radical reformer than Gorbachev, Khrushchev's legacy is an important one—he introduced a generation to the possibility of change in the Soviet system.

Because the island of Cuba lay just ninety miles from the United States in the Caribbean Sea, American policymakers became concerned as Fidel Castro, Cuba's revolutionary leader, developed closer ties with the Soviet Union. In October 1962, the United States discovered that the Soviets were constructing missile launch sites in Cuba. Kennedy and his advisers imposed a blockade against Cuba, not allowing any ships carrying weapons to land on the island. Kennedy then called on Khrushchev to halt what he called a "provocative threat to world peace," and promised immediate retaliation for any attack on the United States. Within a few days, Khrushchev agreed to withdraw Soviet missiles from Cuba, and nuclear war between the two superpowers was averted.

In the aftermath of the *Cuban Missile Crisis*, the United States and the Soviet Union tried to avoid future crises by setting up a "hot line," a direct teletype link connecting Moscow and Washington, D.C., to improve communication between the nations' leaders. Later, negotiations to limit nuclear testing were begun, leading to the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty in August 1963. This treaty, which outlawed nuclear tests in the atmosphere, underwater, and in outer space, marked the first significant step toward nuclear arms control since the Cold War began.

Peaceful Competition. Competition with the Soviet Union extended beyond weapons and political influence to science—especially in space exploration. In 1957 the Soviets launched *Sputnik*, the first man-made satellite to orbit the earth. Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first person to orbit the earth in 1961.

In response, Congress increased funding of math and science education programs to help American students match the Soviet Union's scientific accomplishments. President Kennedy also committed the government to putting an American on the moon before the Soviets. Kennedy's promise was realized in July 1969, when Neil Armstrong became the first person to set foot on the moon.

President Kennedy also launched two programs to establish peaceful ties to Third World nations, hoping to keep them out of the Soviet sphere of influence. The Alliance for Progress offered billions of dollars in economic aid to Latin American nations, while the Peace Corps sent U.S. volunteers to Africa, Asia, and Latin America to offer technical assistance and improve the standard of living in many of the world's developing nations.

In 1963 President Kennedy was assassinated, and Vice President Lyndon Johnson became the new U.S. leader. Due partly to the Cuban Missile Crisis, Khrushchev was ousted from power in 1964. He was replaced by Leonid Brezhnev as Communist party chief, and Aleksei Kosygin as the highest government official. A new era of U.S.-Soviet relations was beginning.

Confrontation and Negotiation: 1964-1985

In the mid-1960s, both American and Soviet policymakers sought better superpower relations. In the United States, Lyndon Johnson won the 1964 presidential election on a platform that advocated

moderation in dealing with the Soviets. Johnson emphasized ending the arms race and decreasing the threat of nuclear war.

In the Soviet Union, new party leader Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin, chairman of the Council of Ministers, wanted to pursue a moderate course in U.S.-Soviet relations by expanding trade, increasing cultural and scientific exchanges, and negotiating reductions in nuclear arms.

In reality, however, both confrontation and negotiation characterized U.S.-Soviet relations from 1964 to 1985. Disputes in Europe, Asia, and many Third World countries forced the United States and the Soviet Union to support opposite sides. Yet at the same time, the superpowers pursued peaceful negotiation in the areas of arms control, trade, and space exploration.

Nevertheless, despite some progress in improving U.S.-Soviet relations, by the early 1980s, conflicts in Latin America, Poland, and Afghanistan had reached crisis proportions. By 1985 confrontation seemed to dominate U.S.-Soviet relations once again.

Milestones in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1964-1985

1965 1970 19

AP/Wide World Photos

1964 U.S. troops are sent to Dominican Republic to back anti-communist government.

1967 Latin America is declared a nuclear-free zone.

1968 Soviet tanks roll into Prague's Wenceslas Square to put down Czechoslovakian uprising.

1969 Richard Nixon becomes U.S. president.

U.S. astronauts win race to the moon.

1971 Sea-bed Treaty outlaws nuclear weapons on or under ocean floor.

1972 Nixon and Brezhnev toast the signing of the SALT treaty.

National Archives

1973 U.S. withdraws troops from Vietnam after more than 15 years of involvement.

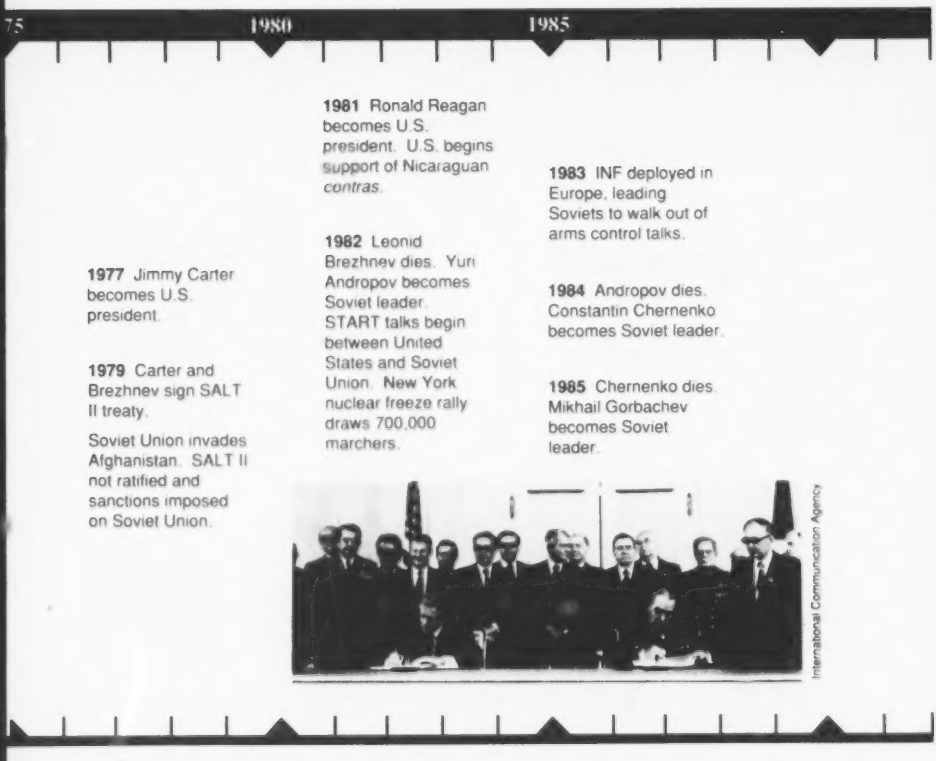
1974 Nixon resigns. Gerald Ford becomes U.S. president.

Confrontations Around the World

During the 1960s and 1970s, competition for world influence between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified. Each nation sought to build stronger alliances—especially in the Third World. The Soviets continued to support Ho Chi Minh's communist forces in North Vietnam, and the United States increased its support for the government of South Vietnam. In Latin America, even a hint that communism might extend beyond Cuba brought American troops to protect U.S. interests.

Yet while the United States battled the expansion of communism into noncommunist nations, U.S. leaders tacitly accepted the Soviets' right to maintain control of nations already under communist rule. For example, the United States did not provide military support for rebel movements in Eastern Europe.

Escalating Involvement in Vietnam. President Kennedy had sent 15,000 military advisers to Vietnam before his death. Under President Johnson, U.S. commit-


75
1980
1985
1977 Jimmy Carter becomes U.S. president.
1979 Carter and Brezhnev sign SALT II treaty.
Soviet Union invades Afghanistan. SALT II not ratified and sanctions imposed on Soviet Union.
1981 Ronald Reagan becomes U.S. president. U.S. begins support of Nicaraguan *contras*.
1982 Leonid Brezhnev dies. Yuri Andropov becomes Soviet leader. START talks begin between United States and Soviet Union. New York nuclear freeze rally draws 700,000 marchers.
1983 INF deployed in Europe, leading Soviets to walk out of arms control talks.
1984 Andropov dies. Constantin Chernenko becomes Soviet leader.
1985 Chernenko dies. Mikhail Gorbachev becomes Soviet leader.
International Communication Agency

ment to the government of South Vietnam expanded. In April 1964, Johnson announced that the North Vietnamese had fired on U.S. ships in the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of North Vietnam. Johnson immediately ordered the bombing of North Vietnam and asked Congress for expanded powers to stop further aggression.

In response, Congress passed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, which gave the president power to "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." From 1964 through 1968, U.S. troops in Vietnam multiplied to more than 500,000. The Soviet Union continued to back the Viet Cong—communist guerilla forces—with weapons and money; however, Soviet troops were not involved in combat.

In 1968 the Viet Cong launched the Tet Offensive in which they attacked the South, devastating cities and winning support in rural areas. Although the offensive was ultimately defeated, it seriously lowered the morale of U.S. and South Vietnamese forces. U.S. casualties kept increasing, and the war became so unpopular at home that President Johnson chose not to run for reelection in 1968.

Latin America and the Johnson Doctrine. In 1965 in the Dominican Republic, rebels attempted to topple the government. Johnson evacuated U.S. citizens from the capital and sent more than 20,000 U.S. troops to restore order. The president explained his actions by saying that communists had infiltrated the rebel movement. He also announced what became known as the *Johnson Doctrine*, saying that the United States would intervene in Latin American affairs when there was danger of a communist dictatorship coming to power.

Johnson's actions were widely criticized in the United States, Latin America, and the Soviet Union because there was little evidence that communists were in fact involved in the revolt. However, in spite of these criticisms, the Johnson Doctrine reemphasized the historic concern for U.S. security interests in Latin America.

Prague Spring. Soon after the United States reasserted its interest in Latin America, the Soviet Union reasserted control over Eastern Europe. In 1968 Alexander Dubcek became the Communist party chief of Czechoslovakia. Dubcek was interested in liberalizing the nation, moving away from the one-party state imposed by the Soviet Union. The Czechoslovakian Communist party soon adopted a platform that included freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion. For a time, the Soviets held talks with the Czechoslovakians to discuss their desire to create "socialism with a human face."

In August 1968, however, negotiations ended, and more than 400,000 Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia to put down the "counter-revolution" centered in the capital city of Prague. Dubcek was removed from power a few months after the Soviet invasion.

Polish, Hungarian, East German, and Bulgarian troops assisted Soviet troops in repressing the Czech revolt. But other Communist nations—including Roma-

nia, Yugoslavia, and China—and the Communist parties of France and Italy denounced the Soviet invasion. American politicians strongly criticized the repression, expressing fears that the tyranny of the Stalin era was returning. However, the United States did not intervene.

Following the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Soviets announced a new foreign policy, known as the *Brezhnev Doctrine*. This doctrine stated that when socialism is threatened in one nation, it is a threat to the security of all socialist nations. The Soviets would not tolerate such a threat to their control of Eastern Europe.

Ending America's Longest War. By the late 1960s, it was clear that America's commitment to the war in Vietnam was lessening. More and more American soldiers were coming home in coffins, and there seemed to be no end in sight. President Richard Nixon, who took office in 1969, pledged to halt U.S. involvement in the war.

As part of a new foreign policy, known as the *Nixon Doctrine*, the president began the "Vietnamization" of the war—withdrawing U.S. troops and leaving the South Vietnamese to fight on their own. Under the Nixon Doctrine, the United States promised to protect allies from nuclear attack and supply military and economic aid. However, the United States expected its allies to provide for their own defense and refused to send troops to fight in an ally's war.

Soon after the withdrawal of American forces, the North Vietnamese gained control of South Vietnam. The two Vietnams were reunited in 1976 under communist rule, and Vietnam remained an important Soviet ally in Southeast Asia.

An Era of Negotiation

As the United States and the Soviet Union engaged—both directly and indirectly—in battles around the world, their diplomats pursued peaceful cooperation in the areas of arms control and trade. Both nations hoped to improve their own security by reducing the danger of nuclear war, and both nations sought to ease tensions further through economic, cultural, and educational contact.

However, progress in relations between the two nations was profoundly affected by developments in the rest of the world. During the 1960s and 1970s, implementation of arms and trade agreements was often abruptly halted due to disputes in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

Soviet Peacemaking. During the 1960s, while Americans were preoccupied with Vietnam, the Soviets were trying to improve their stature in the world of diplomacy. For example, in 1966 Soviet Premier Kosygin mediated a peace agreement between India and Pakistan, which had been at war for almost twenty years.

In 1967 Kosygin met with President Johnson to pave the way for a U.S.-Soviet dialogue on nuclear weapons. Soon after, the two nations signed a treaty barring nuclear weapons from outer space. However, the United States delayed further progress in U.S.-Soviet relations in protest of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Nixon and Detente. President Richard Nixon entered office determined to launch a new era of U.S.-Soviet relations. In his 1969 inaugural address, he announced that "after a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation." By autumn, Soviet and American negotiators were again meeting to discuss limits on nuclear arms.

President Nixon and his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, were staunch anti-communists and proponents of *detente*—the relaxing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. How could they support both points of view?

Detente did not mean that Americans and Soviets suddenly agreed on the triumph of capitalism or communism. Nor did they stop competing for world influence. What detente did mean was that both U.S. and Soviet leaders were able to set aside some of their differences to accomplish specific goals. For example, the Soviets wanted to establish trade agreements with the United States to purchase grain and advanced technology. Believing that they had finally caught up with the United States in stockpiles of nuclear arms, the Soviets also wanted to slow down the costly arms race. For their part, the Americans also wanted to slow the arms race and to gain

Nixon Project, National Archives

In 1972 President Richard Nixon traveled to China to meet with revolutionary leader Mao Zedong. Nixon's efforts to improve U.S. relations with China—the Soviet Union's chief rival in the communist world—spurred the Soviets to agree to a summit meeting in Moscow.

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Soviet assistance in stabilizing volatile areas of the world such as the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

The Road to Arms Control. U.S. and Soviet negotiators worked from 1969 to 1972 to develop the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) that was signed by Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev at a 1972 summit meeting in Moscow.

Limiting or eliminating nuclear weapons had been discussed since 1945 by the United States, the Soviet Union, and other powers that possessed nuclear capabilities. However, the Americans and Soviets had fundamentally different views on the issue that could not be reconciled. Whereas the United States sought to maintain nuclear superiority in order to deter Soviet aggression, the Soviets sought to reach a level of nuclear weapons equal to that of the United States so they could not be coerced by American power.

The SALT treaty signed at the 1972 Moscow summit consisted of two agreements. The first agreement, known as the ABM treaty, limited deployment of antiballistic missiles (ABMs)—considered to be defensive weapons. The second agreement limited buildups of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)—considered to be offensive weapons. Congress approved the treaty on the condition that future agreements must not put the United States in an inferior position in numbers of intercontinental nuclear weapons. A congressional proposal also stipulated that the United States could nullify the ABM agreement if another offensive weapons treaty were not negotiated by 1977.

While SALT I, as it became known, did limit numbers of certain kinds of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons, it said nothing about the development and deployment of new types of weapons. Ultimately, SALT I did not limit defense spending in either nation or slow the arms race.

Detente and Trade. In addition to SALT I, Nixon and Brezhnev signed several important trade agreements at the 1972 summit. The United States advanced credit to the Soviets with which to purchase American grain. Later that same year, the Soviets purchased grain in such enormous amounts that critics of the deal blamed Nixon for rising consumer prices in the United States.

In 1973 President Nixon urged Congress to extend *most favored nation* (MFN) status to the Soviet Union, which would have lowered tariffs on imports from the Soviet Union. However, the proposal met strong opposition among members of Congress, who were upset by the Soviet Union's restrictive emigration laws. The Soviets considered their emigration policy to be a domestic affair over which the United States had no influence. In the end, Moscow rejected attempts by Congress to make freer emigration a precondition of MFN status, and no agreement was reached.

Human Rights and the Detente Debate. Congressional debate over trade with the Soviet Union illustrated a major division in American thinking about detente. On one side were those who believed that easing tensions with the Soviets would benefit the United States politically and economically—and would also give Americans greater leverage in improving Soviet human rights policies. On the other side were those who opposed all cooperation with the Soviets

National Aeronautics and Space Administration

Detente went into orbit in 1975 during a space mission known as the Apollo-Soyuz project. American astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts docked their spacecrafts for two days to exchange gifts and greetings and perform joint experiments.

until they allowed greater freedom for Soviet citizens. The latter viewpoint gained support when Moscow further repressed political and religious dissidents in the early 1970s.

At this time, a growing number of political dissidents publicly criticized the Soviet government's repression of individual freedoms. Most famous among the dissidents was author Alexander Solzhenitsyn, whose descriptions of Stalinist repression in novels such as *The First Circle* and *The Gulag Archipelago* were considered "incompatible with being a citizen of the USSR." When Solzhenitsyn was exiled to the United States in 1974, he spoke out forcefully against detente and told U.S. policymakers to withhold trade and arms agreements until the Soviet government freed political prisoners and upheld basic human rights.

Despite the protests of Solzhenitsyn and other dissidents, President Gerald Ford, who succeeded Nixon in 1975, pledged to continue Nixon's foreign policy agenda. Ford and Soviet leader Brezhnev concluded accords designed to set limits on U.S. and Soviet ICBMs in a 1975 summit meeting in Vladivostok, USSR.

While arms negotiations continued, detente was receiving more and more criticism in the United States. The issue played an important role in the presidential campaign of 1976. Republican candidate Ford continued to defend detente, while the Democratic nominee, Jimmy Carter, emphasized the lack of human rights in the Soviet Union.

Renewed Animosity

When Jimmy Carter became the nation's thirty-ninth president in 1977, he vowed to take a much tougher stand against the Soviet Union than had the Nixon-Ford administration. Carter openly criticized Soviet human rights policies and corresponded with Soviet political dissidents. The Soviets viewed Carter's actions as meddling in their internal affairs. However, the president's actions reflected America's concerns about increased repression inside the Soviet Union as well as anger at the Soviets' military ventures in other nations.

Heightened U.S.-Soviet tensions continued into the 1980s when President Ronald Reagan took office. Ultimately, the growing animosity between the two superpowers resulted in a continued military buildup and failure to ratify a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II).

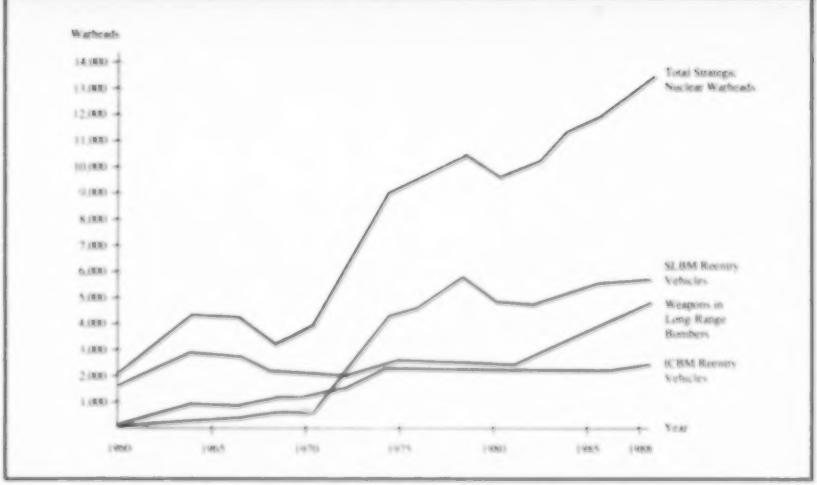
Arms Negotiations and SALT II. Even before Carter took office, Ameri-

can policymakers were worried about an increase in Soviet and Warsaw Pact military forces. To counter an increase in Soviet conventional (non-nuclear) forces in Europe, Carter proposed a new weapon—the "neutron bomb"—designed to kill people without totally destroying cities, towns, or the surrounding countryside. Proponents of the bomb reasoned that in the event of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe, the United States could defend its NATO allies without utterly destroying them. Both European and Soviet leaders strongly opposed the new weapon. The Soviets warned that it would threaten future arms negotiations. In response, Carter postponed production of the neutron bomb indefinitely.

In June 1979, President Carter and Soviet leader Brezhnev met in Vienna, Austria, to sign SALT II agreements. Congressional leaders mounted a strong attack against the treaty before it was signed, claiming that it gave too many advantages to the Soviets and amounted to an appeasement policy.

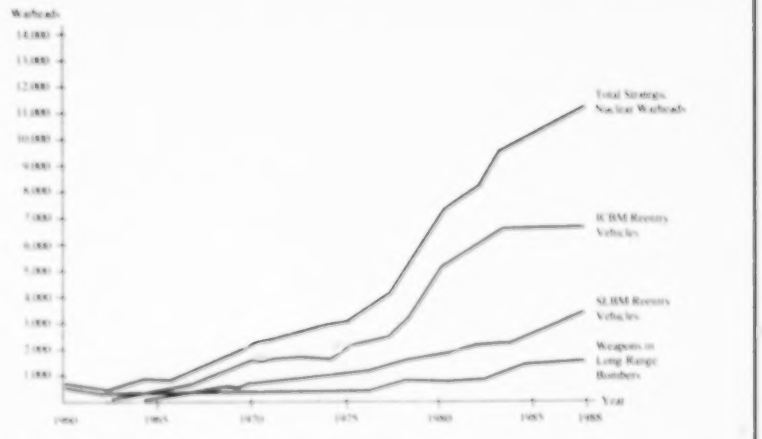
The treaty, which set lower limits on ICBMs than SALT I, was signed by Carter and Brezhnev, but was never

U.S. Strategic (Long-Range) Nuclear Warheads 1960-1988



The United States and the Soviet Union maintain a "triad" of strategic nuclear forces that includes intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), and manned bombers so that if one leg of the triad is destroyed, there are still two others providing for U.S. or Soviet defense. Both U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals (see chart, page 80) have grown dramatically since 1960. At first, each missile carried only one warhead, but by the 1970s, one missile could carry up to ten warheads, all aimed at different targets.

Soviet Strategic (Long-Range) Nuclear Warheads 1960-1988



ratified by the U.S. Senate. Just before the Senate was scheduled to vote, Carter withdrew the treaty from consideration, in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.

Afghanistan and the Carter Doctrine. In 1978 communist rebels seized power in Afghanistan and set up a pro-Soviet government. When Muslim forces attempted a coup against the communist government, the Soviets sent thousands of troops to prop up the Afghan government in December 1979. This was the first instance in which the Red Army had intervened in an area outside Eastern Europe, and it caused alarm among U.S. policymakers.

Calling the invasion "the most serious threat to peace since the second world war," Carter immediately imposed sanctions. He ordered an embargo on grain sales to the Soviets, froze the sale of high-tech equipment, and withdrew U.S. participation from the 1980 Olympic Games scheduled to be held in Moscow.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was perceived by some as the first step in a Soviet advance on the vital oil fields of the Middle East. The president's response to this threat became known as the *Carter Doctrine*. The Carter Doctrine stated that "an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." The Soviets reacted harshly to the new U.S. stance, saying that the Middle East was not vital to U.S. inter-

ests and that it was the United States—not the Soviet Union—that posed a threat to independent nations there.

Crackdown in Poland. For several years, economic conditions in Eastern Europe had been growing worse, leading to political unrest and demands for change. In 1980, after the Polish government lifted some food subsidies, causing prices to rise dramatically, Polish citizens protested. At the center of the protests were workers in the nation's largest shipyards in Gdansk. Electrician Lech Walesa led the workers in demanding not only higher wages and lower food prices, but also the right to a labor union independent of government control. Polish Communist party leader Edward Gierek negotiated with the workers and agreed to allow them to form an independent union. Gierek also promised to decrease censorship, increase wages, and improve food supplies.

But after making these agreements, Gierek was promptly dismissed on orders from Moscow. President Carter watched the tension build between *Solidarity*, as the independent trade union was known, and the new Polish government. Nearing the end of his presidency in late 1980, Carter publicly warned the Soviets that any intervention in Poland would have a negative effect on U.S.-Soviet relations.

By December 1981 all strikes had been banned by the Polish government, Lech Walesa and other Solidarity leaders had been jailed, and martial law had been declared. The reaction from President Ronald Reagan, who had taken office in January, was swift. Reagan publicly blamed the Soviet Union for the crackdown in Poland and announced sanctions against both the Soviet and Polish governments. The sanctions included suspending shipments of food to Poland, banning Polish airline service in the United States, and postponing talks on grain exports to the Soviet Union. (Reagan had previously lifted the grain embargo imposed by Carter.)

Conflict in Central America. In addition to opposing Soviet actions in Poland, the Reagan administration took a strong stand against alleged Soviet involvement in Central America. First, the United States sent economic aid to the government of El Salvador, which was battling communist rebels. In addition, the U.S. government supplied military and humanitarian aid to the *contras*, rebels who were trying to overthrow Nicaragua's Soviet-backed *Sandinista* government.

The Soviet Union accused the United States of increasing conflict in Latin America, but the Reagan administration defended its actions, saying that the Soviet Union was promoting communism and terrorism in the area. Known as the *Reagan Doctrine*, Reagan's emphasis on preventing communism from spreading in Latin America was based on his belief that U.S. security was directly threatened by communist regimes in Central and South America.

Changing Soviet Leaders

In the early 1980s, Soviet leaders came and went rapidly. Leonid Brezhnev died in 1982 and was replaced by Yuri Andropov, longtime head of the Soviet security police. In 1984, Andropov died and was succeeded by Constantin

HE MADE ME DO IT!
ETHIOPIA, ANGOLA, HUNGARY, CUBA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AFGHANISTAN, POLAND
CHILE, GUATEMALA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, CUBA, VIETNAM, EL SALVADOR

Auth. to the Philadelphia Inquirer

Chernenko, an aging member of the Politburo. Like Chernenko, most Communist party leaders had been part of the generation that grew up and took power under Stalin. As the old guard leaders passed on, a new generation of leaders was waiting for an opportunity to take control.

Under Andropov and Chernenko, arms negotiations were resumed, but little progress was made. The new negotiations were known as Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). The Soviets refused to accept U.S. plans for reducing ICBMs, and the Americans refused to accept Soviet proposals to freeze current levels of weapons in Europe. Finally, the Soviets walked out of the negotiations when NATO deployed a new group of medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

In 1985, the Soviet Union and the United States were again in a period of hostility—over Eastern Europe, Central America, and arms control. The Cold War was entering its fortieth year, and despite some periods of peaceful coexistence and detente, U.S.-Soviet relations were still plagued by suspicion and fear.

When Constantin Chernenko died in March 1985, he was succeeded by fifty-four-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev, who had begun his career not under Stalin, but under Khrushchev. With Gorbachev in power, yet another new era of U.S.-Soviet relations was about to begin.

Revolution in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1985-1990

3

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A revolution took place in U.S.-Soviet relations between 1985 and 1990. In 1985, the two nations were still bitter enemies at odds over arms control and developments in Eastern Europe and the Third World. But by 1990, the Cold War map of Europe was being redrawn and the two superpowers were finding more and more issues in which they shared common concerns and sought common solutions.

After six years of minimal contact, the United States and the Soviet Union began holding summit meetings again in 1985. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev came to the bargaining table with the desire to cut his nation's military spending in order to institute a domestic economic reform program. After several meetings, during which U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Gorbachev established a friendly working relationship, the two nations made an important breakthrough in arms control, signing the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty in 1987.

In 1989, President George Bush inherited a promising U.S.-Soviet relationship, which he tried to improve by encouraging Gorbachev to continue his political and economic reforms. However, the people of Eastern Europe may have done the most to improve U.S.-Soviet relations in the 1980s by destroying the real and invisible walls that separated them from the rest of Europe.

Questions to Consider While You Read

1. What domestic concerns encouraged Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to seek better relations with the United States? How did the relationship between President Ronald Reagan and Gorbachev change from 1985 to 1988?

2. Why did President Reagan favor development of the Strategic Defense Initiative? Why did Soviet leader Gorbachev oppose it?

3. What was the main goal of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty of 1987? Why is this treaty considered a milestone in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations?

4. What role did Mikhail Gorbachev play in the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989/1990? In which nations did democratic revolutions occur most quickly?

5. On what issues did George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev still disagree in 1990? On what issues did the two leaders find ways to cooperate?

Slow Progress: 1985-1986

Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union in March 1985, at a crucial juncture in U.S.-Soviet relations when both superpowers were spending enormous amounts of money on defense. In the Soviet Union, the military buildup had taken place at the expense of other sectors of the Soviet economy, and citizens were becoming more and more frustrated by chronic shortages of food and consumer goods. Although the situation was not nearly as critical in the United States, the U.S. budget deficit was climbing at an alarming rate—in part due to the military buildup instituted by President Ronald Reagan in the early 1980s.

During the first two years of Gorbachev's administration, negotiations between the two superpowers proceeded slowly. Gorbachev was occupied with his domestic agenda: consolidating his power within the Communist party, and beginning his economic and political

Milestones in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1985-1990

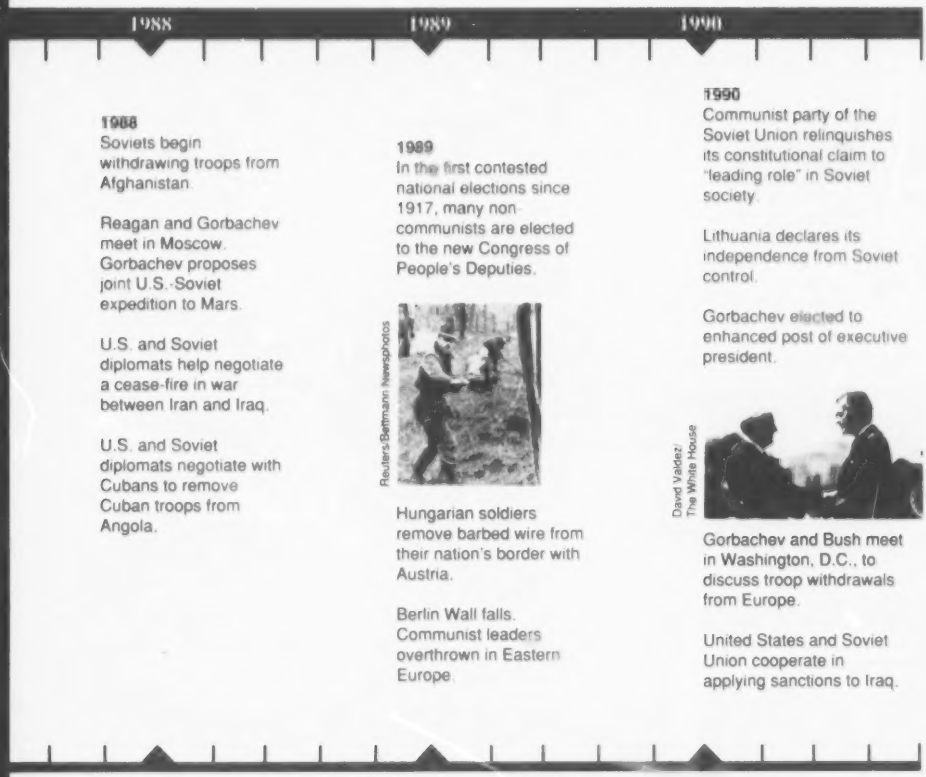
1985
1986
1987
1985
Mikhail Gorbachev becomes leader of the Soviet Union and calls for a restructuring of the Soviet economy.
Soviets declare a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing.
Reagan and Gorbachev hold summit conference in Geneva, Switzerland.
1986
Accident at Chernobyl nuclear power plant.
Reagan and Gorbachev meet to discuss arms control in Reykjavik, Iceland.
1987
Soviet children help their parents cast ballots. Soviet Union holds some local elections allowing multiple candidates.
U.S. and Soviet representatives sign Montreal Accords, pledging to work to halt depletion of the ozone layer.
Reagan and Gorbachev sign INF treaty at Washington, D.C. summit.
AP/Wide World Photos
National Archives

reform programs. President Reagan also had a full domestic agenda that included cutting taxes and trying to promote growth in a sluggish economy.

Yet both leaders made an effort to reopen communication by holding annual summit meetings. At the time of the first Reagan-Gorbachev summit in 1985, U.S. and Soviet leaders had not met for six years. Reagan and Gorbachev broke the silence in November in Geneva, Switzerland, and then met again a year later in Reykjavik, Iceland. Like many superpower summit meetings held during the 1950s and 1960s, little of substance was accomplished in Geneva or Reykjavik. However, tensions between the two nations eased somewhat, enabling further negotiations to follow.

Gorbachev's Challenges

Challenges at home played an important role in Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to improve relations with the United States and other nations. Gorbachev wanted to

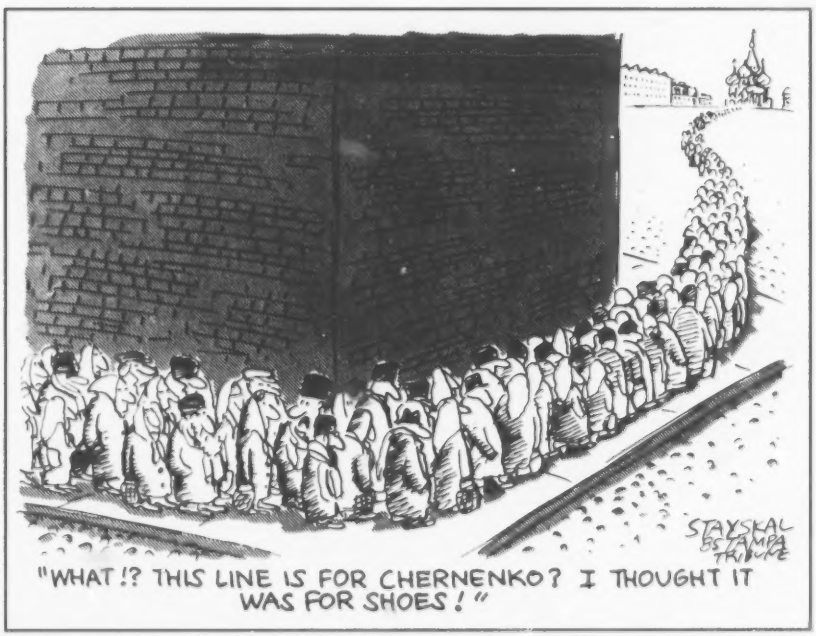

1988
1989
1990
1988
Soviets begin withdrawing troops from Afghanistan.
Reagan and Gorbachev meet in Moscow. Gorbachev proposes joint U.S.-Soviet expedition to Mars.
U.S. and Soviet diplomats help negotiate a cease-fire in war between Iran and Iraq.
U.S. and Soviet diplomats negotiate with Cubans to remove Cuban troops from Angola.
1989
In the first contested national elections since 1917, many non-communists are elected to the new Congress of People's Deputies.
Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos
Hungarian soldiers remove barbed wire from their nation's border with Austria.
Berlin Wall falls. Communist leaders overthrown in Eastern Europe.
1990
Communist party of the Soviet Union relinquishes its constitutional claim to "leading role" in Soviet society.
Lithuania declares its independence from Soviet control.
Gorbachev elected to enhanced post of executive president.
David Valdez/ The White House
Gorbachev and Bush meet in Washington, D.C., to discuss troop withdrawals from Europe.
United States and Soviet Union cooperate in applying sanctions to Iraq.

de-escalate the arms race, which would allow more Soviet money, labor, and natural resources to be used to reach his goals of political and economic reform. He also needed Western money, technology, and expertise to modernize the economy, thus making it possible for the Soviet Union to compete in the world market.

Challenges at Home. By the 1980s, Soviet citizens were growing impatient with shortages of food and consumer goods and lack of individual freedom. Gorbachev set out to address these concerns through his programs of *perestroika* and *glasnost*.

By the time Gorbachev came to power, both the agricultural and industrial sectors of the Soviet economy were having serious problems. Collectivized agriculture had proved to be a failure in the fifty years since it was instituted. In the 1980s, the 3 percent of Soviet agricultural land devoted to farmers' private plots produced about half of the meat, fruit, and vegetables consumed in the Soviet Union. Soviet industry was plagued by an inefficient bureaucracy that did not consider consumers' needs and wants when setting production goals.

Soviet consumers were angry about having to pay high prices at farmers'



When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev entered office, he faced serious economic problems at home. One of the ways Gorbachev planned to improve his nation's economy was to divert money from the military to the production of consumer goods.

Vlastmir Stone/Gamma Liaison

Protesters in Moscow demonstrate the dark side of* glasnost. *As in the United States, freedom of speech now extends to all Soviet citizens—even those who promote anti-semitism, hatred, and racism.

markets for foods such as lettuce and melons which were in scarce supply in government stores. Sometimes citizens resorted to the illegal underground economy to purchase items—such as high-quality blue jeans or tape recorders—that were unavailable through legal channels. A major part of Gorbachev's *perestroika* reforms aimed at expanding private agricultural plots and allowing consumer preferences to determine what Soviet industry would produce.

Soviet citizens also were distressed by the lack of individual freedoms in the Soviet Union. During the Brezhnev era, the Communist party increased its control of the press, and hundreds of political dissidents were exiled or imprisoned. Gorbachev's program of *glasnost* slowly began to allow greater freedom of the press and freedom of speech. By encouraging citizens to speak out and criticize the government, the Soviet leader hoped to call greater attention to the need for the political and economic changes he proposed.

Challenges Abroad. Mikhail Gorbachev inherited a complex web of foreign obligations from his predecessors. In Eastern Europe, the Soviets spent an enormous amount of money maintaining Warsaw Pact military forces, as well as providing the satellite nations with oil and natural gas below world market prices. In Latin America, the Soviet Union extended economic and military aid to the nations of Cuba and Nicaragua. In Africa and Asia, the Soviet regime continued to support "wars of national liberation." Most draining of all was the continuing war in Afghanistan, which cost not only money and military supplies, but Soviet lives as well.

A "Fresh Start"

Ronald Reagan declared that the main objective of his first meeting with Gorbachev was a "fresh start" for U.S.-Soviet relations. This objective seemed to have been accomplished. At a summit meeting held in Geneva, Switzerland, in November 1985, the two leaders spent time together away from their advisers, with only their interpreters, in an attempt to improve their working relationship. But while Reagan and Gorbachev developed an easy rapport, they continued to disagree on most matters.

Stalemate in Geneva. The longest discussions in the Geneva summit were those in which Reagan and Gorbachev tried to sway each other on the issue of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—popularly known as "Star Wars." The goal of SDI research, launched by the

Terry Arthur/The White House

In 1985, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev reopened friendly relations between their countries at a summit conference in Geneva, Switzerland.

United States in 1983, was to develop a space-based defense system to destroy enemy missiles before they reached their targets. The Soviets viewed SDI as an offensive weapon because it would allow the United States to launch a first strike at the Soviet Union with greatly reduced fear of Soviet retaliation. Soviet policymakers wondered whether their nation could overcome such superior American technology if it were actually developed. Even in the research stage, the Soviet Union would be obliged to increase its military budget to match U.S. investment in high-tech weaponry at a time when Gorbachev's goal was to decrease military spending.

Reagan proposed that U.S. and Soviet scientists inspect each other's laboratories to confirm that no offensive aspects of space-based weapons were being developed. Gorbachev countered with a proposal that inspections be done to ensure that no space-based weaponry of *any* kind was being built. Both men refused to be swayed. The only substantial agreement reached was that both nations would work to reduce the risk of accidental nuclear war.

In other discussions, the United States urged the Soviet Union to end military aid to communist movements in the Third World, especially in Afghanistan. The Soviets offered no real hope that the Afghan war would end quickly, and further angered American representatives by calling U.S. support for Afghan and Nicaraguan rebels "state terrorism."

In a radical departure from former President Carter's public statements on

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Soviet human rights policies, Reagan chose to discuss human rights issues in private. However, Gorbachev held firm on the longstanding Soviet policy that human rights was a domestic concern, not an international one.

In the only substantive agreements signed during the Geneva meeting, the two nations agreed to increase cultural and scholarly exchanges and to resume airline service. Further progress in arms control required many more months of negotiation.

Disappointment in Reykjavik. The outlook for the second Reagan-Gorbachev summit, held in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986, was hopeful. However, the summit ended in disappointment for both sides.

The Soviets proposed dramatic cuts in intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe in exchange for restrictions on the development of SDI. Reagan agreed that large reductions in the number of nuclear weapons on both sides would be desirable, but he continued to believe that limiting SDI would compromise U.S. security. In the end, the Soviets accused the United States of being unwilling to make any concessions to the security of the Soviet Union, while the Americans charged the Soviets with making unreasonable demands to constrain American military research.

President Reagan was criticized in the United States for placing too much emphasis on experimental SDI technology. Many arms control experts believed that SDI research violated the ABM treaty signed in 1972, which had effectively diminished U.S.-Soviet competition in defensive weapons. The president countered by saying that it was SDI and the U.S. military buildup that had brought the Soviets to the negotiating table in the first place.

Despite the inability of U.S. and Soviet negotiators to reach an agreement at Reykjavik, the summit marked a significant milestone in the Cold War. At Reykjavik and afterward, American and Soviet negotiators began to discuss not only limitations on new weapons, but also real reductions in nuclear arms.

The Cold War Thaws: 1987-1988

By 1987, changes in the Soviet Union were occurring more swiftly than American policymakers had anticipated. The free discussion of abuses in the Soviet government and progress toward greater political and economic freedom began to have a profound impact on American attitudes toward the Soviet Union.

President Reagan exemplified this changing attitude. In the early 1980s, Reagan viewed the Soviets with suspicion, calling the Soviet Union an "evil empire." Yet by 1987, Reagan was hosting Mikhail Gorbachev in Washington, D.C., for the purpose of signing a historic arms control agreement. And by 1988, the U.S. president was toasting the Soviet leader in Moscow.

Reagan continued to be concerned about Soviet human rights abuses, the war in Afghanistan, and threats to European security. However, he and other U.S. policymakers believed that Gorbachev's reform plan could lead not only to more arms control agreements, but also to a less polarized world.

Warming Up

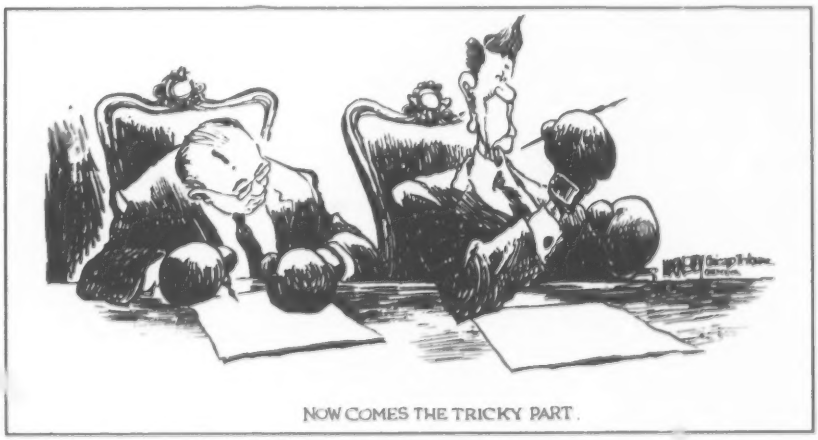
Between the ill-fated Reykjavik summit and the summit held in Washington, D.C., in December 1987, events took place in both countries that favorably affected U.S.-Soviet relations.

American leaders had long pressed for improved human rights in the Soviet Union. In 1987 several Soviet dissidents, including Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov, were freed from internal exile and allowed to criticize openly the Soviet government. On the seventieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, just a few months before the Washington summit, Gorbachev launched a more honest approach to the Soviet past by discussing what he called Stalin's "unforgivable crimes." Moreover, the Soviet leader added substance to his rhetoric about political reform by allowing experimental local elections in which more than one candidate could run for each office.

Because of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, Gorbachev was enjoying favorable public opinion in the United States and Western Europe. But in the Soviet Union, he was experiencing resistance from two camps: those who thought his economic and political reforms were proceeding too quickly and those who thought they were moving too slowly. A successful summit would increase Gorbachev's prestige at home and his ability to silence his critics.

In the United States, President Reagan was also facing criticism. Reagan administration officials were implicated in a political scandal involving secret arms sales to Iran and the illegal diversion of funds from these sales to the Nicaraguan *contras*. A major treaty with the Soviet Union, rather than a political scandal, would offer a more desirable climax to the Reagan presidency. Thus, both superpower leaders sought to improve their stature at home by signing an arms agreement in Washington.

A Historic Treaty. At the 1987 Washington summit, Reagan and Gorbachev overcame some of their lin-



NOW COMES THE TRICKY PART.

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Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

During his 1987 visit to Washington, D.C., Mikhail Gorbachev left his protected motorcade to greet American onlookers. Unlike previous Soviet leaders, Gorbachev charmed the American public with his ready smiles and handshakes.

gering differences and signed a treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear weapons on both sides. This was the first arms treaty to call for the actual destruction of existing nuclear weapons. In addition, to assure compliance with the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) treaty, each nation agreed to allow the other to inspect its missile sites and destruction facilities.

Although it was a historic "first" in U.S.-Soviet relations, the INF treaty was viewed by U.S. policymakers more as a first step toward reductions in long-range nuclear weapons than as an end in itself. The first agreements on long-range missiles—part of ongoing Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START)—were also made at the Washington summit. Both sides agreed to a limit of less than 5,000 warheads on land and submarines.

But the INF treaty did not eliminate the major points of contention between the United States and the Soviet Union. In fact, the United States continued plans for new strategic missiles and refused Soviet proposals for a new comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. The Soviets reiterated their opposition to SDI and urged that agreements be negotiated to reduce conventional forces in Europe and to ban chemical weapons.

Moscow Spring. President Reagan made his first visit to Moscow in June 1988. Although no arms control agreements were signed during that summit, the two leaders did sign treaties encouraging cultural and educational exchanges.

At the time of the Moscow summit, the Soviets had begun to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan. As Afghanistan became a less divisive issue, the

UPI/Bettmann

At the 1988 Moscow summit, Reagan and Gorbachev stood in the shadow of Moscow's most famous landmark, St. Basil's Cathedral. The two men took a break from their discussions to stroll through Red Square, where Soviet children greeted the American president as "Grandfather Reagan."

United States put other regional conflicts on the negotiating table in the hope that the Soviet Union would use its influence to encourage settlements. Soviet and American diplomats began working together to discourage terrorism in the Middle East and to bring a peaceful government to power in Cambodia.

But the most significant result of the Moscow summit was intangible. U.S. and Soviet leaders surprised the world with a new spirit of cooperation. In Moscow, President Reagan declared that he did not believe Gorbachev sought world domination as previous Soviet leaders had. Reagan summed up the dramatic change that had taken place in U.S.-Soviet relations in a speech he gave during his visit, saying, "To those of us who remember the postwar era, all of this is cause for shaking the head in wonder. Imagine, the president of the United States and the general secretary of the Soviet Union walking together in Red Square, talking about a growing personal friendship."

Seeking a Different Road. A final, informal summit meeting took place among Reagan, Gorbachev, and President-elect George Bush in New York in December 1988. In a speech delivered before the United Nations, the Soviet leader surprised listeners by pledging to unilaterally cut the Soviet military by 10 percent and withdraw 50,000 Soviet troops from Eastern Europe. Although these cuts would still leave Warsaw Pact troops with an advantage over NATO forces, they represented an important step toward building a better relationship between the Soviet Union and Western Europe.

In addition to military cuts, Gorbachev also pledged to uphold freedom of choice and freedom of conscience within the Soviet Union and in the rest of the world. He said, "We must seek a different road to the future. . . . The principle of freedom of choice is mandatory. Its nonrecognition is fraught with extremely grave consequences for world peace. . . . Freedom of choice is a universal principle that should allow for no exceptions."

The key question left in the minds of U.S. policymakers was whether Gorbachev's promises would truly be put into practice, or whether the Soviet leader was simply buying time before

reasserting Soviet power in the world. Bush chose to await cautiously the outcome of Gorbachev's reforms.

Ending the Cold War: 1989-1990

The year 1989 was one of the most momentous in the twentieth century. It was a year in which the domino theory took on new meaning as communist rule was overthrown in nation after nation. U.S. officials who doubted the Soviet Union's sincerity in supporting freedom of choice were less doubtful by December as the nations of Eastern Europe freed themselves from Soviet influence—without so much as a frown from Moscow.

As the final decade of the century began, the Cold War seemed to be drawing to an end for lack of enemies. Communism was no longer expanding, but contracting. Consequently, the theme of post-World War II U.S. foreign policy—containment of communism around the globe—seemed obsolete. George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev had to grapple with the question of what kind of relationship their nations would have in the post-Cold War world.

Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe

Ironically, U.S.-Soviet relations were redefined in 1989 by events over which neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had much control. Eastern Europe's communist regimes collapsed as a result of popular movements for democracy rather than armed force. With the exit of these Cold War regimes went one of the most important points of contention between the United States and the Soviet Union. Many U.S. policymakers saw Gorbachev's acceptance—and even encouragement—of the anti-communist revolutions as proof that he was a new kind of Soviet leader.

The Wall Comes Tumbling Down. For 28 years, the Berlin Wall was the most tangible symbol of the postwar division of Europe into U.S. and Soviet spheres of influence. In the end, the wall was dismantled not by NATO or Warsaw Pact armies, but by Berliners themselves.

In the summer of 1989, Hungary relaxed its rules regulating travel across its border with Austria. During the next few months, thousands of East Germans vacationed in Hungary and then took an excursion into Austria that ended at the West German embassy. Soon East Germans were flooding into West Germany through Czechoslovakia, which had also relaxed its travel restrictions. As the numbers of East Germans fleeing to the West increased, so did the demands of those who stayed behind. In September 1989, a political organization known as *New Forum* was created to lead massive demonstrations against communist rule.

East Germans drew confidence from speeches made by Mikhail Gorbachev in which he declared that the Soviet Union had no moral or political right to interfere in the affairs of Eastern European nations. Each time the East German government attempted to enforce restrictions on its citizens' travel, massive demonstrations forced policymakers to relent. By October, East Germany's hard-line leader Erich Honecker was removed by the Communist party.

1961-1989

"The wall is gone! The wall is gone!" Thousands of East and West Berliners, drenched in champagne and drunk on freedom shouted to each other all night long. Even East German policemen joined in the revelry, for they were no longer obliged to check documents or search automobiles as East and West Germans freely drove back and forth across the border. The city's bars and restaurants were empty because on this night the celebration was in the streets.

Twenty-eight years earlier, on the morning of August 13, 1961, citizens of Berlin had awakened to find themselves divided by a barbed-wire fence that eventually became the concrete structure known as the Berlin Wall. On the morning of November 10, 1989, the few Berliners who had been asleep the night before awoke to find the barrier dividing them being torn down.

In both cases, the action of East German officials was sparked by a mass exodus of East Germans to the West. In 1961, the communist government built a wall to keep people in. In 1989, the government tore down the wall and hoped that after brief shopping trips to the West, East Germans would return home. Most East Germans did return home—not only with T-shirts and trinkets, but with a determination to reunite the two Germanies.

AP/Wide World Photos

In November, events accelerated as the ruling Communist party yielded to the pressure of New Forum and other pro-democracy groups. On November 6, the East German government drafted a law allowing citizens to travel freely to the West. On November 7, all the top government officials resigned. And on November 9, the border between East and West Germany was opened. Although there was dancing in the streets of many German towns this night, the greatest celebrations came in Berlin, as the wall that had divided the city for nearly 30 years was opened. West Berliners greeted their East German cousins with champagne, flowers, and cheers.

In 1990, negotiations to reunite the two Germanies progressed more rapidly than anyone predicted. Both the United States and the Soviet Union worked closely with East and West German leaders to develop a workable plan for reunification.

Leaving the Soviet Orbit. Although the opening of the Berlin Wall was perhaps the most dramatic symbol of the collapse of communism in 1989, many equally momentous events preceded and followed it.

In Poland, the Solidarity trade union won a majority of seats in the Polish senate in June and proceeded to work with the lower house of the legislature, which was still dominated by Communists, to institute radical economic reforms. By August, Solidarity organizer Tadeusz Mazowiecki had become Prime Minister of Poland—the first non-communist leader of an Eastern European nation since the Cold War began.

In Hungary, the nation's leaders saw the anti-communist tide rising and in October voted to change the Communist party's name and platform. The new Hungarian Socialist party dedicated itself to democratic change, but its main

Conrad/Los Angeles Times

Heroes of the Revolution

To many Americans, Eastern Europe's revolutions in 1989 seemed to come suddenly and without warning. But those individuals who made the revolutions possible had been struggling to change their countries for many years. Two of the most visible heroes of 1989 were Poland's Lech Walesa and Czechoslovakia's Vaclav Havel. Both have dedicated most of their lives to fighting injustice and building a better world.

Reuters/ Bettmann Newsphotos

Lech Walesa, an electrician with a grade school education, saw many of his fellow workers killed by Polish troops during a strike in 1970. Walesa became a dedicated union organizer and in 1976 was elected leader of his local union in Gdansk. However, Walesa was soon dismissed from his leadership post by the government. At the time, in Poland and other communist nations, the government controlled the activities of all labor organizations.

Because he was not allowed to fight for change within the system, Walesa decided to go outside it. In 1980, he formed Solidarity, a union independent of government control—the first such union in a communist nation. After a year of activity, Solidarity was banned, Walesa was arrested, and martial law was declared by the Polish government. Walesa was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983 for his efforts to bring peaceful reform to his nation. At the time, most assumed that his efforts had failed. Few would have predicted that in 1989, Solidarity would become a powerful partner in the Polish government.

The outlawed Solidarity movement stayed alive through secret meetings and underground publications. In 1989, a wave of strikes and a worsening economic outlook led the Communist party to legalize Solidarity and allow its participation in free elections for part of the Polish legislature. When Solidarity won overwhelming victories in the elections, many urged Walesa to take the post of prime minister. Walesa declined, however, choosing to remain Solidarity's leader rather than becoming a government official.

Like Walesa, Czechoslovakia's playwright-president Vaclav Havel spent time in prison for his opposition to the communist regime. Havel spoke and wrote about the need for greater freedom in his homeland and was repeatedly jailed for demanding the release of political prisoners. In 1977, he founded Charter 77, an organization dedicated to fighting human rights abuses in Czechoslovakia and around the world.

Civic Forum, Havel's political opposition group, was a much younger and looser organization than Solidarity when it led the revolt against communism in Czechoslovakia. Havel and other dissidents created Civic Forum in November 1989, and planned their strategy day by day, hour by hour, with few longterm goals except to oust the repressive communist regime. Bloodshed in Czechoslovakia's so-called "velvet revolution" was averted in part because Moscow made it clear to Communist party leaders that it would not tolerate the use of violence against demonstrators.

Shortly after his election as president of Czechoslovakia in December 1989, Havel expressed what many other participants in Eastern Europe's "overnight" revolutions must have been thinking: "Sometimes I ask my friends if this was all a dream, a colorful and beautiful dream from which I would awake—in prison. But finally . . . I began to feel that it was not a dream, and that what has happened is real and lasting."

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

political opposition, known as Democratic Forum, defeated the former communists in elections held in 1990.

In Czechoslovakia, the communist government used force against demonstrators who sought to follow the lead of their neighbors by demanding greater freedom. But by the end of November, crowds of students, dissidents, and workers led by the opposition group *Civic Forum* forced the government to resign. By December, playwright Vaclav Havel, who had been jailed numerous times by the Communist regime, was elected president. Alexander Dubcek, who had been exiled from public life after his 1968 revolution was crushed, became Czechoslovakia's new Premier.

In Bulgaria, Communist party leader Todor Zhivkov, who had been in power for 35 years, resigned rather than risk being ousted by a popular movement. Like the Hungarians, the Bulgarian Communists renamed their party. Running on a reformist platform, the new Bulgarian Socialist party won the majority of seats in the national legislature in 1990.

Only in Romania did revolution turn truly violent. Romania's brutal dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was forced to resign and go into hiding in December 1989, but his secret police force, the Securitate, remained loyal to him. The Securitate tortured and murdered thousands of Romanians who supported a provisional anti-communist government known as the *National Salvation Front*. Finally, the provisional government captured Ceausescu and his wife and broadcast their trial and execution on national television.

National Archives

In New York City in December 1988, Mikhail Gorbachev bid farewell to his old negotiating partner, Ronald Reagan, and hello to his new one, President-elect George Bush.

Beginning a New Relationship

From the moment George Bush took office in 1989, he faced the challenge of redefining U.S.-Soviet relations. While the president may be able to resolve some questions, others—especially future defense and economic policies, and cooperative efforts with the Soviet Union—are likely to be on the negotiating table for many years.

In 1989 and 1990, George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev met to discuss further arms agreements. By this time, Gorbachev was in a difficult situation at home: nationalist movements in the republics were threatening to break up the Soviet Union and citizens were outraged at the sacrifices demanded by Gorbachev's economic reform program.

Summit at Sea. The first summit meeting between Bush and Gorbachev took place aboard ship in the Mediterranean Sea off the coast of Malta. At this meeting, President Bush set the agenda for the next year. In terms of arms

control, the president urged completion of a START agreement, as well as agreements on reducing conventional forces in Europe and stockpiles of chemical weapons. In addition, Bush asked for and received Gorbachev's pledge not to block further liberalization in Eastern Europe.

In return for concessions on arms control and Eastern Europe, Gorbachev asked for more favorable U.S.-Soviet trade agreements and U.S. backing in gaining observer status at the international trade conference sponsored by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Gorbachev received Bush's pledge to pursue a better trade relationship and not to block Soviet observers at the GATT talks. As a further expression of good will, Bush offered U.S. technical assistance to Soviet industry.

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Soon after releasing his nation's control of Eastern Europe, Gorbachev faced growing independence movements within the borders of the Soviet Union. Lithuania was the first Soviet republic to demand total independence from Soviet rule.

Washington Summit. At a June 1990 summit conference in Washington, D.C., Bush and Gorbachev signed agreements to increase U.S. grain sales to the Soviet Union and to slash stockpiles of chemical weapons. The two leaders also approved a preliminary version of a START treaty.

Other issues discussed, but not resolved, included the reunification of East and West Germany and U.S.-Soviet trade.

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

On May 1, 1990, more than 500,000 Soviets marched in Moscow's Red Square. Their banners demanded "Democracy, Perestroika, Glasnost."

Gorbachev continued to oppose the alliance of a reunified Germany with NATO, while Bush held firm in his belief that U.S. interests would be served best by Germany's membership in NATO.

President Bush tentatively approved giving the Soviet Union most favored nation (MFN) trade status, which would reduce tariffs on Soviet imports. However, he warned that the question of Lithuania's demand for independence from the Soviet Union must be resolved and that Soviet emigration laws must be relaxed.

During his 1990 visit, Gorbachev also met with American farmers and business leaders. In trips to Minnesota and California—reminiscent of Nikita Khrushchev's 1959 tour—Gorbachev

urged Americans to lend money and technical expertise to business ventures in the Soviet Union. The Soviet leader wanted to convince U.S. business leaders that investment in the Soviet Union was a safe and profitable enterprise and that U.S.-Soviet partnership could extend beyond arms control and diplomacy.

By the summer of 1990, the United States and the Soviet Union had clearly embarked on a new relationship. Gorbachev had worked out a compromise with West Germany that would allow German reunification to proceed with a united Germany maintaining membership in NATO. The Soviet Union also demonstrated its willingness to cooperate with the United States and the international community by agreeing to UN sanctions imposed against longtime Soviet ally Iraq. The sanctions were imposed as a result of Iraq's invasion of its neighbor Kuwait in August 1990. However, in spite of these and other encouraging signs, few can predict what the future might hold for the new—and increasingly complex—U.S.-Soviet relationship.

Issues for the Twenty-first Century

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The United States and the Soviet Union took the first steps toward a new relationship in the 1980s. No one can yet predict the future of U.S.-Soviet relations, but analysts can point to the issues that are likely to occupy American and Soviet policymakers in the 1990s and into the twenty-first century.

Despite progress in decreasing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, many conflicts remain. For example, U.S. and Soviet negotiators still struggle with issues of defense—trying to decrease the threat posed by nuclear arms, chemical weapons, and conventional forces. In addition, economic issues remain at the forefront of U.S.-Soviet relations. Many experts predict that U.S.-Soviet trade, joint ventures, and the Soviet Union's place in the global economy will dominate superpower discussions in the next decade.

Finally, with the end of the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union are reassessing their world views. Can the two nations become allies again in order to solve common problems? Signs in the early 1990s indicated that cooperation between the two might increase in certain areas, including mediating international conflicts, halting nuclear proliferation, and solving environmental problems. These and other opportunities for cooperation would benefit both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Questions to Consider While You Read

1. Is a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty likely to change the nuclear balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union? Why or why not?

2. Why do some U.S. policymakers argue that the United States should maintain a greater military force in Europe than the Soviet Union? Why do some Soviet policymakers argue that the Soviet Union is more vulnerable to attack in the 1990s than during the height of the Cold War?

3. How might trade with the Soviet Union compromise U.S. security interests? Why has the United States been cautious in supplying direct aid to the Soviet Union?

4. What obstacles do U.S. businesses face as they try to invest in the Soviet Union? What recent Soviet reforms have encouraged U.S. investment?

5. Why is it useful for the United States and the Soviet Union to cooperate in solving environmental problems? What other areas might benefit from U.S.-Soviet cooperation?

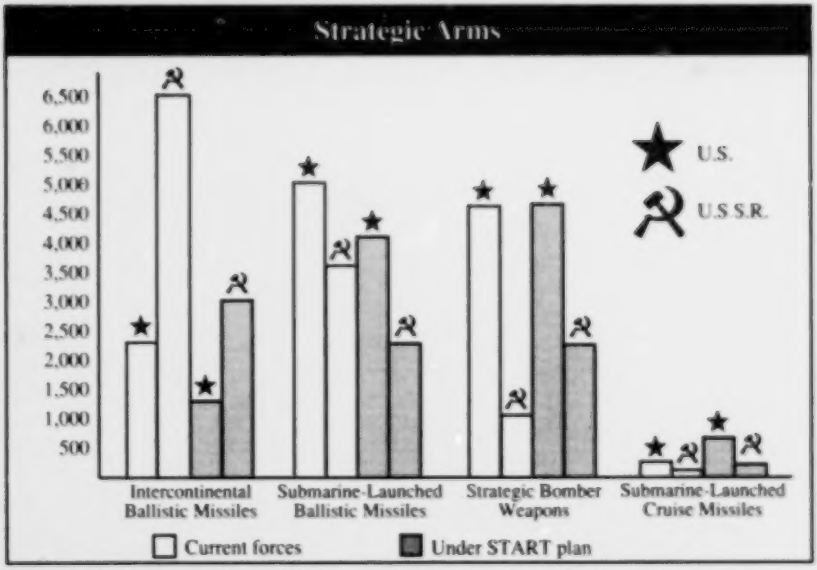
Defense

As tensions ease between the United States and the Soviet Union, both nations must consider how the changing relationship will affect their defense policies. Reductions in weapons and troops have already begun, but many questions remain. How strong should the American and Soviet militaries be in the future? How should their armed forces be organized to meet the challenges of new world alliances?

Nuclear Weapons

Reducing the threat of nuclear war by placing controls on building and deploying nuclear weapons has been a major goal of U.S. and Soviet foreign policy for years. Both nations have agreed that reducing nuclear arms stockpiles is a desirable goal—as long as neither nation's security is threatened. But such negotiations are complicated because of the vast array of weapons and delivery devices—including long-range and short-range missiles, aircraft, and submarines—and by the desire of both nations to incorporate technological improvements into their forces.

In 1990, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to the major points of a START treaty to reduce strategic nuclear arms. Proposed weapons reductions amounted to about 30 percent of



The START treaty would establish a 30 percent cutback in strategic nuclear weapons. However, the production of nuclear weapons increased during the 1980s, and some categories of weapons are not covered by START. Consequently, the United States and the Soviet Union will possess more warheads than they had before the START talks began.

U.S. and Soviet stockpiles of nuclear warheads. Both the United States and the Soviet Union agreed that once the details of the START treaty were finalized, talks could begin on a START II agreement to further limit strategic nuclear weapons.

Although nuclear weapons have not been used by any nation since 1945, both the United States and the Soviet Union have spent enormous amounts of money developing, improving, and building nuclear weapons. Fear that there are too many nuclear weapons in the world—and fear that there are too few on one side or the other—remains a major concern of American and Soviet leaders. But there are differing views about how to address this concern.

Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. Ever since the explosion of the first atomic bomb, anti-nuclear activists have maintained that nuclear weapons pose an unacceptably high risk of irreparable damage to the world and its people. They warn that the world will not be safe until all nuclear weapons are eliminated. Some, therefore, believe that the goal of U.S.-Soviet negotiations should be not merely fewer nuclear forces, but none at all.

Maintenance of a Deterrent Nuclear Arsenal. Others argue that nuclear weapons are a fact of modern life—scientists cannot simply forget the formula for building them. Because of the existence of nuclear weapons, the superpowers have sought to avoid direct confrontation, which could have led to a large-scale war. Therefore, most believe that both the United States and the Soviet Union should maintain their nuclear arsenals to deter each other as well as smaller nations and terrorist groups from using nuclear weapons. The ideal size of nuclear arsenals, however, is also a source of disagreement—ranging from those who think that countering the Soviet arsenal at each level is necessary for deterrence to those who argue that the existence of nuclear weapons per se, regardless of their number, constitutes a sufficient deterrent.

Questions for the Future. Have nuclear weapons made the world a more dangerous place, or have they kept the peace between the superpowers? Would a treaty eliminating all U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons provide security for the two nations and for the rest of the world? Can the United States and the Soviet Union afford to disarm when other nations—including China, India, and South Africa—are believed to possess the capability to produce nuclear weapons? It is likely that U.S. and Soviet leaders will confront these and other questions concerning nuclear weapons in the next decade.

Chemical Weapons

Introduced on a large scale in World War I, chemical weapons are used to damage or kill plants, animals, and people. Many chemical weapons attack the human nervous system, causing convulsions, paralysis, and death. Others irritate, burn, or destroy a victim's eyes, skin, or lungs. Some chemical weapons can cause severe brain damage without causing death, and all can be carried by water or air to unintended victims.

Since the 1920s, international negotiations have been conducted to limit the use of chemical weapons. At the 1990

Peace Dividends?

Economists in both the United States and the Soviet Union are working to predict the effects of shrinking military budgets on their economies. The money that might be saved by producing fewer weapons and maintaining smaller armies has come to be known as a "peace dividend."

For the Soviet Union, the domestic consequences of slowing the arms race are likely to be good. Many experts believe that it was economic needs that drove Mikhail Gorbachev to arms control with the United States in the first place. The Soviets have launched a program of converting defense plants to civilian production, as the United States did after World War II. In 1990, the Soviets reported that about 40 percent of their defense plants had switched from producing military to nonmilitary goods.

In the United States, many large corporations derive the majority of their profits from supplying weapons and equipment to the armed forces. For some of these larger corporations, a strong peacetime economy would be just as profitable as a strong Cold War economy. For other smaller companies however, decreased defense budgets will mean shrinking profits, plant closings, and layoffs.

When considering cuts in the defense budget, members of the U.S. Congress face difficult choices. On one hand, they want to help the corporations in their states that need defense contracts to survive. On the other hand, they want to decrease federal spending or shift the spending to other areas such as education or social programs. As yet, no one knows how deep U.S. defense cuts will be or who—if anyone—will benefit from the peace dividend.

Washington summit, Presidents Bush and Gorbachev signed a significant agreement in which they pledged to destroy 80 percent of their chemical weapons stockpiles by the year 2002. However, a serious obstacle to the disposal of chemical weapons is the care that must be taken to protect the environment from accidental release of toxic chemicals.

Disposal Problems in the United States. Currently, the U.S. government operates one chemical weapons destruction plant in an isolated corner of the Pacific Ocean. But to meet the terms of the 1990 treaty, the United States will have to open other plants within its borders. Because these chemicals are so toxic, many Americans refuse to allow disposal plants in their communities. Officials predict that the building of new destruction plants will be delayed for many years because of lawsuits brought by concerned environmental groups.

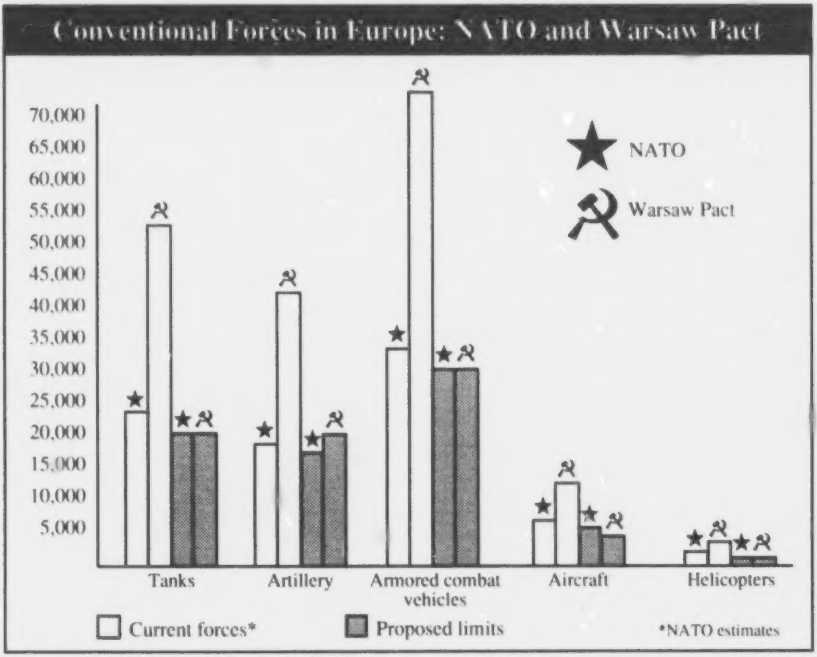
Disposal Problems in the Soviet Union. Currently, the Soviets have no chemical weapons destruction plants that would enable them to comply with the 1990 treaty. For the safety of the popu-

lation, such plants are usually built in uninhabited areas. Poor roads and railroads in most suitable sites will make transporting the weapons dangerous. In order to move the weapons safely, the government may have to invest a large amount of money in the transportation system—at a time when the nation's budget is already strained.

Questions for the Future. Are chemical weapons more moral or less moral than other types of weapons? Should U.S. citizens be allowed to stop the construction of chemical weapons destruction plants in their towns if this would mean nullification of a chemical weapons treaty? Should the United States provide money and technical assistance to the Soviet Union for the purpose of building a safe chemical weapons destruction plant? Great strides have been made toward controlling chemical weapons, but American and Soviet policymakers cannot rest until they have met the remaining challenges.

Conventional Forces

Progress in cutting conventional military forces—including tanks, artillery, and troops—has been slower than that of nuclear arms reductions. One reason for



The conventional forces treaty being discussed in 1990 calls for small reductions in NATO forces because Warsaw Pact forces in Europe are much larger. The proposed treaty would set limits of 195,000 foreign-stationed troops for each side.

this is that, in addition to the United States and the Soviet Union, other nations are involved. Agreements on conventional forces must include participants from the NATO alliance and the Warsaw Pact.

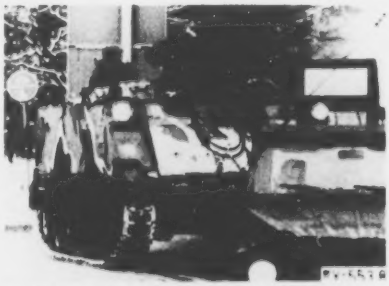
In 1990, Warsaw Pact forces in Eastern Europe were much larger than NATO forces in Western Europe. However, the democratic changes in Eastern European governments led many to believe that the Warsaw Pact would be transformed into a much looser, and perhaps non-military, alliance. One treaty proposal being discussed would drastically reduce Warsaw Pact troops and weapons and make small cuts in NATO forces so that the military strength of the alliances would become roughly equivalent.

U.S. and Soviet armies fought together to defeat Nazi Germany during World War II, but then quickly turned to oppose each other during the Cold War. Today, as the nations of Eastern Europe gain independence from Soviet influence, the Soviet Union poses a smaller threat to Western Europe. In the next decade, American, Soviet, and European policymakers must create a new system for European security.

Reducing Forces in Europe: The U.S. View. Some American officials believe that the United States should maintain a larger force in Europe than the Soviet Union. They argue that geography would give the Soviet Union an advantage over the United States in a war fought on European soil. The Soviets will always be able to move troops and weapons into Europe more quickly and in a less costly manner than the United States, which lies thousands of miles across the ocean.

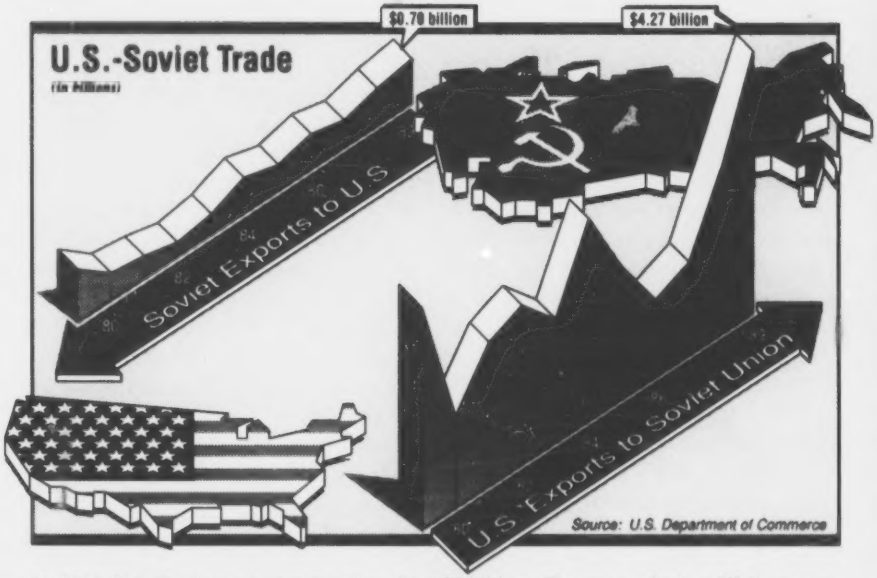
But other American officials say that if the Cold War is over, the United States should also end its enormous military commitment to Europe. They argue that the nations of Europe are strong enough to defend themselves now that the Soviet threat has diminished. They also believe that money spent defending Europe could be better utilized at home.

Reducing Forces in Europe: The Soviet View. Some Soviet policymakers argue that the Soviet Union is even more vulnerable now than it was in previous decades because it has lost control of the buffer zone of Eastern Europe. Germany, a Soviet enemy in two world wars, is being reunited to become the strongest economic power in Europe. The Soviets want to keep military forces in East Germany for some time after reunification. In addition, the Soviet Union has asked for and received guarantees that NATO forces will be used only defensively in the future.



U.S. Army

In 1990, a large number of American soldiers were stationed at bases guarding the border between East and West Germany. U.S. officials now face the question of what to do with these troops when there is no longer a border to guard.



In 1989, U.S.-Soviet trade amounted to about $5 billion. The vast majority of U.S. exports to the Soviet Union were agricultural products, while most Soviet exports to the United States were raw materials such as oil and natural gas.

Questions for the Future. Should all U.S. and Soviet troops be pulled from Europe, leaving European nations to form their own security organization? Should the United States insist on having more troops in Europe than the Soviet Union? Should reunited Germany be a member of NATO? These and other military issues face the United States, the Soviet Union, and their allies in the 1990s.

Economics

Differences between capitalism and socialism have always been a major source of tension in U.S.-Soviet relations. But recently, these tensions have decreased. As the Soviet Union has adopted some of the institutions of capitalism, the United States and other Western nations have increased ties to the Soviet economy through trade and joint ventures.

The Soviet Union has also expressed interest in playing a greater role in the global economy by expanding trade and becoming active in international economic organizations. However, lack of experience in trading in a capitalist marketplace and domestic economic problems remain serious obstacles for the Soviets. The extent to which the Soviet Union can overcome these problems will determine its global economic power in the next century.

U.S.-Soviet Trade

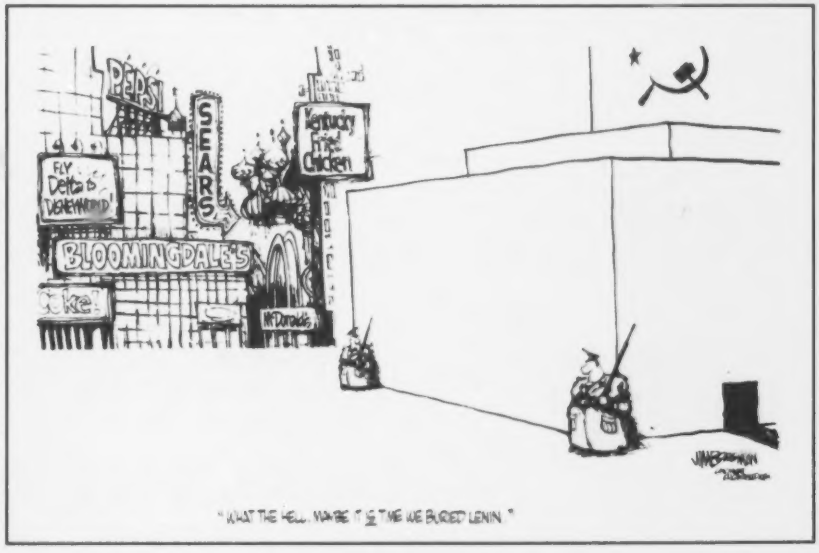
Because of the differences in their economic systems and the difficulty of converting rubles into dollars, the United

States and the Soviet Union have had a limited economic relationship. The Soviets have traded chiefly with other socialist nations, while the United States has done most of its trading with other capitalist nations. However, both the Soviet Union and the United States could benefit from improved economic relations. The Soviet Union offers the United States a potential market of 280 million people who are eager to gain access to the wide variety of consumer goods America produces. In turn, the United States offers the Soviet Union a ready market for Soviet resources, including oil, natural gas, copper, and timber.

Agreements signed by President Bush and Soviet leader Gorbachev in 1990 committed the United States to granting the Soviets most favored nation (MFN) status if the Soviets pass more liberal emigration laws. Under MFN status, the Soviets would be eligible for import tariffs ten times lower than those now in force, making their products cheaper for U.S. consumers.

Although relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are now more cordial than they have been since World War II, policymakers' concerns about national security still influence decisions about U.S.-Soviet trade. Government officials remain occupied with questions of national security, while U.S. business leaders worry about the bottom line in U.S.-Soviet trade: can the Soviets pay their debts?

National Security. The American government has always limited U.S. exports to the Soviet Union. Any products that could be used for military purposes, including communications and information-processing equipment, have been restricted. In recent years, however, the



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United States has loosened restrictions on exports of computers, machine tools, and advanced electronic equipment to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Some American policymakers oppose the looser restrictions because they believe Soviet reforms have not yet progressed far enough to ensure that this technology will be used only for peaceful purposes.

Soviet Debts. For most of its history, the Soviet Union maintained an excellent credit record, always paying for its imports with cash. But in 1989 and 1990, the Soviets began asking the United States and other nations for credit to buy grain, computers, steel, and other products. In 1990, with Soviet payments several months behind schedule, American firms began to halt shipments to the Soviet Union. Soviet officials blamed the delays in payment on the reorganization of the economy under *perestroika*, and pledged that the problems would end when the new systems were fully in place.

Questions for the Future. Should the United States pursue policies that will enhance or diminish the Soviet Union's economic power in the world? Should the United States restrict weapons sales to the nations of Eastern Europe for fear that the Soviet Union might regain control of these nations? If the Soviet Union's hard currency supplies disappear, should the United States liberally extend the Soviets credit that would enable *perestroika* to continue? Both the United States and the Soviet Union would like to increase U.S.-Soviet trade, but many obstacles between the former enemies remain.

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

The largest McDonald's in the world opened in Moscow in 1990. Attracted by flexible hours and free meals, applicants for jobs at the restaurant numbered 27,000 for 600 positions.

U.S.-Soviet Joint Ventures

Business ventures involving Soviets and Americans have increased since Gorbachev's reforms were instituted. By 1990 there were more than 120 U.S.-Soviet joint ventures operating in the Soviet Union. However, American investors face major challenges in dealing with the changing Soviet economy, which is in a transition period between the rigid command system of the past and a still undefined system of the future.

American companies seek joint ventures for a variety of reasons. Some hope to create ties to the Soviet economy that, as *perestroika* progresses, will put them in a position to take advantage of the Soviet market. Others want to create a relationship with a particular enterprise—such as an oil refinery—that will produce a product the American company needs. Soviet enterprises enter into joint ventures to satisfy consumer desires, to gain access to advanced technol-

ogy or management expertise not available in the Soviet Union, and to increase Soviet exports.

In 1990, Bush and Gorbachev signed a bilateral trade agreement that would improve the situation of U.S. firms seeking access to Soviet markets. Under the treaty, the Soviets will increase protection of American patents and copyrights in the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviets have given American companies the right to hire Soviet employees directly and compensate them in any mutually agreeable way. Previously, all hiring and payment of Soviet citizens was done through a Soviet government agency.

Logistics. American business leaders tend to be less informed about how the Soviet economy works than their Western European and Japanese counterparts. Therefore, Americans often have trouble making the financial and supply arrangements needed for joint ventures. For example, while the 1990 trade agreement promises greater access to offices and housing in the Soviet Union for American firms, shortages of both remain a problem that American businesses must overcome. In addition, limited access to basic information about Soviet industry is difficult for American companies. Before proceeding with a joint venture designed to improve Soviet food-processing, one major American company had to compile a directory of food-processing plants throughout the Soviet Union to determine the size and location of existing plants and the need for new ones.

Profits. American companies are interested in realizing a profit from their joint ventures in the Soviet Union. For companies that extract raw materials such as timber, copper, or oil from the Soviet Union, doing business with the Soviets is relatively easy. These companies simply take their profits in the form of a percentage of the resource they are extracting, which is then used in their own factories or sold on the open market. For other companies, extracting profits is more difficult. Some produce goods for export to nations that pay in hard currency, such as Germany or Japan, with a percentage of the currency going to the U.S. partner and a percentage to the Soviet partner. Some companies accept profits in the form of products—unrelated to the venture—which the Americans then sell on their own for hard currency. For example, the Pepsi-Cola company accepts vodka from the Soviets in exchange for soft drink products.

Questions for the Future. Is it safe for American companies to become involved in the Soviet economy while Gorbachev's economic reforms are still far from complete? What steps should American companies take to reduce their logistical problems in setting up joint ventures? Should American joint venture partners forgo profits for several years to establish themselves in the Soviet economy? U.S. business leaders, as well as U.S. policymakers, must carefully weigh these and other alternatives.

International Economics

Until recently, the Soviet Union did not seek many ties with international economic organizations, instead maintaining close economic ties chiefly with its

satellites. Now, to bolster its domestic economy, the Soviet Union is slowly entering the global economy.

At the Malta summit in 1989, President Bush lifted his objections to observer status for the Soviets at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks. But the United States remains hesitant about giving financial aid to the Soviets until they show further progress in establishing a free market.

The Soviet Union is plagued by economic problems that could improve with an infusion of Western capital. In addition, the Soviets—who for so long have lived outside the international capitalist economy—must learn about the workings of the global economy in order to turn international trade to their advantage.

Aid to the Soviets. President Bush has encouraged U.S.-Soviet trade, joint ventures, and technical assistance to the Soviet government. In addition, Bush supports greater Soviet participation in the global economy. However, the United States has remained cautious about supplying direct financial aid to the Soviets. U.S. officials explain that it is not acceptable for American taxpayers to lend money to the Soviets while they still maintain a large military and support anti-American governments around the world.

Soviet Participation in the Global Economy. The United States supports the Soviets' desire to enter global economic organizations, but wants a slow transition. For the Soviet Union, future benefits of membership in GATT would include lower tariffs on Soviet exports. To become a full member in GATT and other organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, however, the Soviets will have to show that they are moving toward allowing freer economic competition within the Soviet Union.

Questions for the Future. Should the United States encourage the Soviet Union to seek a stronger position in the world economy? Would the U.S. position in the world economy decline as a result? Should the Soviet Union be required to adopt market capitalism fully before being allowed to enter major international economic organizations? These and other questions regarding the world economy remain to be answered by global leaders in the 1990s and beyond.

Cooperation—A New World View?

Chapter 1 explored the influence of geography, economics, and government on the differing world views of the United States and the Soviet Union. Chapters 2 and 3 discussed history—the other major factor contributing to world view. Due to the radical changes taking place in the economy and government of the Soviet Union, both the American and Soviet world views are changing. As the two nations move toward a time when they no longer see the world divided between capitalism and communism, or between the Soviet sphere of influence and the American sphere of influence, the future will offer many opportunities for U.S.-Soviet cooperation.

Although some analysts believe the status of the United States and the Soviet

Union among the other nations of the world is declining, the two countries are still superpowers in terms of military might, economic resources, and world influence. In the future, the two nations may be able to use their power to mediate international disputes, limit the spread of nuclear weapons, or preserve the environment. If such cooperation is successful, not only Americans and Soviets but the entire world would benefit.

International Conflicts

While the world now may not be as rigidly divided between U.S. and Soviet allies as it was at the height of the Cold War, both nations still exercise considerable influence in certain parts of the world.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Violeta Chamorro of the National Opposition Union (UNO) defeated Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega to win the presidency of Nicaragua in 1990. Over the past decade, Nicaragua was a major source of confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union supported the Sandinistas, while the United States supported the* contra *rebels.

At the 1990 Washington summit, President Bush called for more cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union to solve international conflicts. Bush cited Angola and Nicaragua as precedents for such U.S.-Soviet cooperation.

In 1988, Moscow strongly supported U.S. efforts to end foreign intervention in a civil war that had been raging in Angola. The Soviet Union convinced Cuba to remove its troops from the area, allowing peace negotiations to begin. Fighting in Nicaragua, a major source of U.S.-Soviet tension in the 1980s, was also halted with help from American and Soviet negotiators. The Soviet Union's willingness to cease military support of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and encourage free elections there, led to the victory of U.S.-backed presidential candidate, Violeta Chamorro, in 1990.

Perhaps the most successful example of U.S.-Soviet cooperation has been the peaceful negotiation of German reunification. U.S. and Soviet leaders met repeatedly with the leaders of East and West Germany to come to an agreement on terms of reunification that would satisfy them all. However, conflicts still exist in Europe. Many analysts predict that in the next decade disputes will arise among the various ethnic groups in Eastern Europe that will require mediation by U.S. and Soviet diplomats. Other international conflicts that offer opportunities for U.S.-Soviet peacemaking include power struggles in Cambodia, the rift between North and South Korea, the standoff between Palestinians and Israelis in the Middle East, and aggressive actions by nations such as Iraq.

Nuclear Proliferation

The *proliferation*, or spread, of nuclear weapons is of great concern to both the United States and the Soviet Union. As more nations develop nuclear weapons, the risk that they will be used increases, as does the danger that they will fall accidentally into the hands of terrorists. Fear of proliferation has spurred the United States and the Soviet Union to cooperate closely to minimize risks.

In order to limit nuclear proliferation, the United States and the Soviet Union joined with more than 100 other nations in 1957 to create the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Although it has no enforcement powers, the IAEA conducts inspections of nuclear energy facilities throughout the world to ensure that no weapons are being made. In 1968, more than 130 nations signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The nations that had nuclear weapons pledged not to aid other nations in acquiring them. Those that did not have nuclear weapons promised not to develop or acquire them. In addition, the treaty stipulated that the United States and the Soviet Union would try to end their nuclear arms race.

The 1968 non-proliferation treaty expires in 1995. At that time, the United States and the Soviet Union will face the challenge of negotiating a new treaty. Some experts believe that the danger of nuclear war has increased since 1968 because additional nations are suspected of having developed or pursued development of nuclear weapons. Some of these nations, such as Iraq, Israel, and Libya, are in the Middle East, an area of frequent conflicts and terrorist activity. U.S.-Soviet cooperation and influence will be vital to solving the problem of nuclear proliferation, especially in the volatile Middle East.

Green Foreign Policy

In late 1989, Soviet foreign minister Edward Shevardnadze discussed a new issue in international relations that promised to be a primary focus of U.S.-Soviet cooperation in the 1990s and beyond: preserving the environment. Shevardnadze declared, "Now we know that economic activity, which is synonymous with industrialization, may be as destructive as the use of nuclear weapons. . . . Consequently, the environmental problem is as important for mankind's survival as disarmament, regional conflicts, and economic backwardness." The desire of many world leaders for international action to preserve the environment has become known as *green foreign policy*.

International environmental conferences began in 1972 with a UN-sponsored meeting in Stockholm that set goals for minimizing air and water pollution. In 1987, concerns about the effects of a global warming trend known as the *greenhouse effect* led to the signing of the Montreal Protocol, in which 49 nations, including the Soviet Union and the United States, pledged to cut their use of chemicals that contribute to the greenhouse effect.

A major obstacle to international regulation of pollution and other environmental problems is the fact that the technology to clean up pollution, or to produce less of it, is often expensive. The

APPARENTLY THEY'D JUST ACHIEVED TOTAL DISARMAMENT AND THEN SOME HOLE IN THE OZONE LAYER GOT THEM.
NO NUKES
Leahy© 1990 Cartoonists & Writers Syndicate

high costs are out of reach for most Third World nations and even some Eastern European nations. In some cases, wealthier nations have begun to provide aid to poorer nations for the purpose of preserving the environment. For example, Sweden, which is often the victim of *acid rain* blown in from Eastern Europe, has provided funds to Poland to cut down on emissions of the chemicals that produce acid rain.

There seems to be no lack of proposals for U.S.-Soviet cooperation in environmental causes. A Soviet ecologist, for example, has suggested that a "green line" be established between the United States and the Soviet Union—similar to the "hot line" used for political crises—for the purpose of coordinating efforts during environmental disasters such as nuclear accidents and oil spills. The U.S. National Resources Defense Council and the Soviet Academy of Science are working together to research global warming and energy-saving plans for use in both nations. U.S. and Soviet national park officials have planned a jointly administered international park in the region of the Bering Sea between Alaska and Siberia to preserve the rich animal life there.

As in the cases of regional conflicts and nuclear proliferation, environmental problems cannot be solved solely through U.S.-Soviet cooperation. However, because the United States and the Soviet Union are among the world's most industrialized—and most polluting—nations, their efforts are essential to the success of environmental preservation.

In both the Soviet Union and the United States, policymakers stress that the two nations must still be cautious in their dealings with each other. They point out that it will take time to overcome the suspicion and fear of the Cold War era. However, if cooperation becomes more characteristic of U.S.-Soviet relations than confrontation in the next century, the opportunities for solving many of the world's problems will be much greater as well.

Glossary

acid rain—washing of toxic chemicals from the atmosphere onto the earth through rainfall, killing plant life and polluting lakes and rivers

appeasement—policy of giving in to the demands of an aggressor in order to avoid war

arms race—competition between nations in building more and more powerful weapons

barter system—exchange of goods and services without using money

blacklist—to bar someone from employment because they are considered undesirable, often for political reasons

Brezhnev Doctrine—Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's policy stating that when socialism is threatened in one nation, it is a threat to the security of all socialist nations

cabinet—the president's body of advisers, composed of all the heads of the executive departments of the federal government

capitalist market economy—economic system in which private individuals own most of the nation's resources and competition in a free market regulates the production and distribution of goods and services

Carter Doctrine—President Jimmy Carter's commitment to repel any attack by an outside force in the Persian Gulf

checks and balances—system to maintain a balance of power among various branches of government

Civic Forum—Czechoslovakian political organization that led anti-communist revolution in 1989

Cold War—hostility and competition for world influence between the United States and the Soviet Union that stops short of actual warfare

collectivized agriculture—farming system in which the government owns the land and directs the planting, harvesting, and sale of crops by paid workers

communism—economic system based on ownership of all property by the community as a whole; also, the form of government in nations such as the Soviet Union and China, based on the theories of Karl Marx

containment—U.S. foreign policy based on containing the expansion of communism and Soviet power in the world

contras—U.S.-supported rebels who attempted to overthrow the Soviet-backed Sandinista government in Nicaragua in the 1980s

Cuban Missile Crisis—military crisis in 1962 involving the Soviet Union's deployment of nuclear missiles in Cuba; widely believed to be the closest the United States and the Soviet Union ever came to nuclear war

deregulation—removal of government regulations from businesses

detente—relaxation of tensions between two nations

dissident—citizen who disagrees with his or her government's policies

domino theory—theory stating that if one nation is taken over by communists, surrounding nations would soon fall to communism as well

Duma—Russian legislature with limited powers under the czarist government

Eisenhower Doctrine—President Dwight Eisenhower's commitment to aid any Middle Eastern nation that felt threatened by communist aggression

exchange rate—value of one nation's currency in relation to the currency of another nation

fascism—political philosophy emphasizing nationalism and rule by a dictator

federalism—form of government in which power is distributed among national, state, and local governments so that each has some degree of autonomy

flexible response—policy developed under the Kennedy administration, which established that the United States would not rely solely on nuclear weapons to deter war, but would maintain a variety of forces

geopolitics—the relationship between politics and geography, including the type of influence a nation's size, location, terrain, natural resources, and population has on its political system

glasnost—Russian term meaning "openness"; used to describe increases in citizens' rights and freedoms implemented in the Soviet Union in the 1980s

green foreign policy—international action taken to preserve the environment

greenhouse effect—global warming trend caused by the release of large quantities of carbon dioxide, methane, and other gases into the atmosphere

initiative—method by which citizens can propose a bill by collecting a certain number of signatures from registered voters

isolationism—policy of avoiding political and/or economic alliances with other nations

Johnson Doctrine—President Lyndon Johnson's commitment to intervene in Latin American nations threatened by a communist dictatorship

joint venture—cooperative business arrangement between two nations

judicial activism—philosophy that judges should take an active role in shaping public policy

judicial restraint—philosophy that judges should refrain from shaping public policy and that judicial decisions should uphold the actions of elected government officials unless those actions clearly violate the Constitution

laissez-faire—French expression meaning "let them do as they please"; used to describe economic systems in which the government does not interfere with economic planning

massive retaliation—policy of threatening the all-out use of nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union

McCarthyism—practice of making claims of disloyalty against people without sufficient evidence

monopoly—market situation in which one producer controls the supply of a product and therefore may ask the highest possible price

most favored nation status—MFN; policy under which trade benefits extended to one nation are automatically granted to any other nation with the same status

National Salvation Front—provisional anti-communist government in Romania that deposed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in 1989

nationality—minority ethnic group in the Soviet Union recognized by the government as having the right to limited autonomy

nationalize—to place an industry or business under government ownership

natural rights—rights to life, liberty, and property to which all people are entitled when they are born

New Forum—East German political organization that led anti-communist revolution in 1989

Nixon Doctrine—President Richard Nixon's limitation on U.S. commitments to fight in allies' wars; U.S. commitment to protect allies from nuclear attack and supply military and economic aid remained in force

North Atlantic Treaty Organization—NATO; a peacetime alliance of the United States, Canada, and European nations designed to provide military security for Western Europe

nuclear proliferation—the spread of nuclear weapons to nations that previously had not had them

peaceful coexistence—Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's policy of increasing cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union during the late 1950s

perestroika—Russian term meaning "restructuring"; used to describe economic and political reforms implemented in the Soviet Union in the 1980s

Politburo—highest policymaking body of the Soviet Union's Communist party

purge—to imprison, execute, or otherwise get rid of people viewed as disloyal or undesirable

Reagan Doctrine—President Ronald Reagan's commitment to prevent the spread of communism in Latin America

recall—method by which citizens can remove an elected official from office before completion of his or her term

referendum—method by which citizens can vote directly to approve or disapprove a bill

regulatory agencies—government "watchdogs" that monitor business practices to protect the interests of consumers

Sandinista—Nicaragua's Soviet-backed government in power from 1979 to 1990

satellite—a nation politically dominated by another nation; usually used in reference to the Soviet Union's domination of Eastern Europe after World War II

social contract—agreement among members of a society defining the rights and duties of the government and citizens

socialism—economic and political system based on government control of the production and distribution of goods and services

socialist command economy—economic system in which the government owns most of the nation's resources and regulates the production and distribution of goods and services

soviet—Russian term meaning "council"; basic unit of elected government for the Soviet Union's government at local, regional, and state levels

Solidarity—independent trade union in Poland that led the nation's anti-communist revolution in 1989

Sputnik—Russian term meaning "fellow traveler"; first man-made satellite to orbit the earth, launched by the Soviet Union in 1959

summit—meeting of the highest leaders of two or more nations

tariff—taxes placed on imports or exports

Third World—developing nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are not formally aligned with the United States or the Soviet Union

Truman Doctrine—President Truman's commitment to aid countries trying to resist communist influence

underground economy—illegal method of obtaining goods and services

veto—Latin term for "I forbid"; right of the president to reject a bill sent to him by the Congress

welfare capitalism—economic system in which the free market operates, but the government assumes some responsibility for the welfare of citizens, including employment, medical care, and education

For Further Reading

The following books and articles will provide information for further research on some of the topics covered in *U.S.-Soviet Relations*.

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1988. $7.95. Revised edition available April 1991, $9.95.

Simulation

U.S. Response: The Making of U.S. Foreign Policy
Students become world leaders in this role-play simulation designed to bring the interaction of real-world politics to life. Flexibly designed—play in two or three class periods, or reuse it again and again . . . in all your classes! Includes reproducible student handouts.

1990. Teacher's guide and student handouts. $16.95.

On Video

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Developed by
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To the Teacher

U.S.-Soviet Relations is designed to help your students understand the factors that influence the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, the complex history of that relationship, and the issues the two superpowers will face in the next century. The *U.S.-Soviet Relations Teacher's Guide* offers classroom activities and handouts to promote active learning and enhance student understanding of the material covered in each chapter of *U.S.-Soviet Relations*. In addition to reinforcing the facts, the activities require students to conduct independent research, evaluate, analyze, and synthesize information, and hypothesize about the future. Finally, the teacher's guide provides unit tests and answer keys to assist you in developing comprehensive lesson plans or units of study.

Goals

This guide should help your students to:

1. Explore factors that contribute to the different world views of the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. Describe major events that have shaped the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union for the past seventy years.
3. Analyze changes that have taken place in U.S.-Soviet relations in recent years, bringing the Cold War to an end.
4. Evaluate possibilities for future U.S.-Soviet cooperation.
5. Predict the course of U.S.-Soviet relations in the twenty-first century.

Structure of Units

The teacher's guide is divided into four units corresponding to the four chapters of *U.S.-Soviet Relations*, unit tests, and an answer key. Each unit contains the following components:

Objectives

The student objectives include both cognitive and affective goals to help you measure student learning.

Key Terms

Key terms that students need to know to understand the concepts are presented in this section. The terms include italicized words defined in the glossary of *U.S.-Soviet Relations* as well as names of important people and events. The following three activities will help reinforce student understanding of key terms.

1. Have a group of students develop a crossword puzzle using as many key terms from the unit as possible. Distribute copies of the puzzle to the students and have them complete it as a review exercise before they take the unit test.

2. Divide students into groups of three or four. Assign each group ten key terms, which they are to use in a rap, a poem, or a short story. Ask students to present their creations to the class, making sure that their fellow classmates will be able to understand the meaning of the key terms from listening to the presentations.

3. Photocopy definitions of the key terms from the glossary of *U.S.-Soviet Relations*. Then, cut out the definitions and place them in a hat or bowl. Divide students into two or more teams. Have teams alternate drawing one of the definitions and trying to identify the key term associated with it. Award each team one point for a correct answer. If the team that chooses the definition cannot name the correct key term, another team may try to identify it for two points. At the end of the game, the team with the most points wins—and the entire class will have reviewed all key terms.

Motivator

The motivator is an activity designed to capture student interest, introduce the class to each new chapter of *U.S.-Soviet Relations*, and encourage the active participation of the entire class.

Student Activities

Each unit contains three student activities that require students to exercise their critical thinking skills and do independent research. The activities also emphasize important information from the corresponding chapter of *U.S.-Soviet Relations*.

Student Handouts

Student handouts for each unit can be reproduced for classroom use. Each handout is keyed to a student activity.

Unit Tests

This section of the guide contains a variety of test questions that you can use as a ready-made test, as a student self-check test, or as a source for making your own tests. The tests include true/false, multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, and essay questions taken from information presented in *U.S.-Soviet Relations*.

Answer Key

The last section includes answers to "Questions to Consider While You Read," found at the beginning of each chapter of *U.S.-Soviet Relations* and answers to all unit test questions in this teacher's guide. In addition, correct choices for **Student Handout #1** can also be found in this section.

Unit 1
Differing World Views

Objectives

After completing this unit, students should be able to:

1. Identify major components of American and Soviet world views.
2. Describe the geographic and geopolitical differences between the United States and the Soviet Union.
3. Compare and contrast economic systems of the United States and the Soviet Union.
4. Explain the structures of the U.S. and Soviet governments.
5. Analyze the impact of geography, economics, and political ideology on the foreign policy of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Key Terms

capitalist market economy
checks and balances
communism
Congress of People's Deputies
dissident
federalism
geopolitics
glasnost
joint venture
laissez faire
Vladimir Lenin
nationality
perestroika
Politburo
satellite
socialism
socialist command economy
Josef Stalin
Supreme Soviet
world view

Motivator

Before students read Chapter 1, ask them to brainstorm words and phrases that describe the United States, the Soviet Union, or both. Write their responses on the board. Then, ask them to categorize their responses under the headings of "Geography: Land and People," "Economy," and "Government." Point out that they have begun to describe some of the concepts that they will study in Chapter 1, and that all of these elements form part of the world view of each nation. Ask someone in the class to write the list on the board.

After the students have read Chapter 1, or as a review for the unit test, ask them to again call out characteristics of the United States and the Soviet Union. Compare the first and second lists in class. How are the two lists similar? How are they different? Be sure to reinforce the new information your students have learned.

Student Activities

1. Divide your class into two groups. One group will create a large map of the United States; the other will create a large map of the Soviet Union. Supply students with the necessary materials to produce the maps—large sheets of paper, markers, scissors, and so forth. Divide each group into five subgroups and have them research the following topics in *U.S.-Soviet Relations* and the school library:

- location of major mountain ranges and river systems
- types and location of major natural resources
- areas where large groups of ethnic and racial minorities reside
- major industries and their location
- major crops and where they are grown

Next, have students illustrate these topics on their maps using drawings and pictures from newspapers and magazines. Urge them to be accurate and specific when illustrating their maps, placing pictures of wheat where wheat is grown, labeling mountains and rivers correctly, and the like.

When maps are completed, post them in your classroom. Then, assign the subgroups who have researched the same topic for their respective countries to team up. Have each team write and present a brief report to the class comparing the two nations. After all five reports have been presented, lead a class discussion focusing on what the students have learned from this activity. How has geography affected the lives of the Soviet people? How has it affected their own lives? How might geography play a role in shaping the world views of the United States and the Soviet Union?

2. After studying the chart "Comparing Economic Systems" on page 14 of *U.S.-Soviet Relations* and the sections in Chapter 1 dealing with U.S. and Soviet economies, distribute and ask students to complete **Student Handout #1.** Then have them select information from the handout and produce their own charts to show differences between the economies of the two nations. Collect the charts and post them in your classroom.

Extend this lesson by having two students play the roles of Karl Marx and Adam Smith or Karl Marx and Mikhail Gorbachev. While the two principals research their characters, the rest of the class should prepare questions to ask them. Begin the role playing by allowing each character to tell something about his or her background and philosophy, and then take questions from the class. Give each character the opportunity to respond to or refute an opinion of the other. After the role playing, ask the class to come to a consensus about the most forceful arguments for each point of view.

3. Divide the class into three groups. Have each group create a poster that compares the functions of the three branches of the U.S. and Soviet governments. On one poster, the powers of the U.S. president and cabinet should be compared to the powers of the Soviet president and presidential council. On the second poster, the U.S. Congress and the Soviet legislature should be compared. On the third poster, the two judicial systems should be contrasted. Display the posters in a prominent place in the classroom.

Next, have a spokesperson from each of the three groups explain his or her poster to the rest of the class. Encourage students to ask questions related to the particular branch of government they studied.

Unit 2
Evolution of U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1917-1985

Objectives

After completing this unit, students should be able to:

1. Discuss the importance of key events in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations.
2. Analyze reasons for shifts in U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union.
3. Compare U.S. and Soviet perspectives of world events.
4. List factors that influence U.S. and Soviet foreign policy and evaluate the relative importance of each.
5. Summarize U.S.-Soviet arms control agreements and judge their effectiveness.

Key Terms

arms race
Berlin Wall
Bolshevik party
Brezhnev Doctrine
Cold War
containment
Cuban Missile Crisis
detente
domino theory
flexible response
Grand Alliance
Korean War
massive retaliation
New Economic Policy
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Red Scare
soviet
Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)
Truman Doctrine
Warsaw Pact

Motivator

Begin by asking each student to choose one important event listed in one of the timelines in the chapter—the Berlin airlift, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and so forth. Then, each student should interview a relative, friend, or neighbor who remembers the event. Students should find out how and why the event occurred, and how it affected the person they are interviewing. They should summarize their interviews in a one-page report and read their reports to the rest of the class.

After all reports have been presented, lead a class discussion comparing and contrasting people's reactions to important world events. Ask students how people from different social and economic backgrounds—such as children, elderly people, men, women, draft-age people, rich people, or poor people—might react to the same event. As part of your discussion, relate a historical event to a present-day issue. Ask students what their reactions are to events in the Middle East, changes in Eastern Europe, and other current issues.

Finally, using examples from their reports, discuss with students the ways that international relations—and particularly U.S.-Soviet relations—affect the lives of ordinary people.

Student Activities

1. This activity covers the full span of history in Chapter 2. You may want to assign it one section at a time as you complete each portion of the chapter. Students are to work in pairs—one portraying an American while the other portrays a Soviet citizen.

The students must pretend that they became friends while attending school in Europe before World War I. They have been corresponding regularly since 1918. Each pair must produce a set of twelve letters—six from the American, six from the Soviet—in which they describe their nations' points of view and their own point of view at certain times in history. They should use information found in *U.S.-Soviet Relations* and other sources when writing their letters. Time periods and events to be discussed in the letters are:

- 1917-1920: Russian Revolution and Red Scare
- 1941-1945: World War II
- 1946-1950: Soviet conquest of Eastern Europe and U.S. containment policy
- 1960-1964: Erection of the Berlin Wall and the Cuban Missile Crisis
- 1972-1976: Policy of detente
- 1979-1985: Invasion of Afghanistan, Soviet actions in Poland, and differences in U.S. and Soviet policies in Latin America

Complete the assignment by asking each student to write a brief summary to his or her group of letters analyzing how U.S.-Soviet relations evolved from 1918 to 1985. Ask several pairs to read their letters in class. Discuss how the frame of reference of each side can affect attitudes and relations between nations.

2. Choose a period of crisis in the history of the Cold War that captures the interest of students, such as the downing of Gary Powers's U-2 spy plane, the Cuban Missile Crisis, or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Then, distribute **Student Handout #2**. Using the handout as a guide, assign each student a role to play from a list of key political figures, military officials, and members of the press in the Soviet Union and the United States. They should conduct independent research on the crisis based on that role.

After students have completed their research, the military officials of each nation should meet with their respective political officials and advise them on the situation. The political officials will then meet in their own group to discuss the strategy their nation will follow. They may choose to follow a different strategy than was employed during the actual crisis, as long as they are able to explain and support their actions. When both U.S. and Soviet officials have set their strategies, representatives from each side will meet, try to negotiate a settlement, and then hold a joint press conference explaining how the crisis will be handled.

During the deliberations between military officials and their political officials and between officials from both nations, members of the press will prepare at least two news reports. These can either be written reports or spoken "televised" newscasts. Members of the U.S. press should try to gain information from inside sources in the government or military. The political officials of both countries may want to "leak" news that might affect the plans of the other side. However, remember that the crisis will be taking place before *glasnost*, so the Soviet press will be forced to repeat the government's official "party line" about the crisis.

After the crisis has been resolved, lead a discussion about this role-playing activity. Was the crisis resolved the way they anticipated? What were some of the obstacles they ran into during their deliberations? What was the long-term impact of this event on U.S.-Soviet relations? Based on their experience, what would they say are the major factors involved in the making of foreign policy?

3. Divide your students into two groups. One group will play Soviet arms negotiators and the other group will play their American counterparts. Once students have settled into their groups, hand out a copy of the following scenario adapted from *U.S.-Soviet Relations* and read it to the class.

> The year is 1985. The Soviet Union and the United States are again in a period of hostility. The Cold War has entered its fortieth year, and despite some periods of peaceful coexistence and *detente*, U.S.-Soviet relations are still plagued by suspicion and fear. Soviet armed forces are fighting Muslim rebels in a bloody war in Afghanistan, which the United States has called the greatest threat to world peace since the Second World War. Meanwhile, the United States is supplying military and humanitarian aid to forces fighting the Soviet-backed government in Nicaragua. The Soviets claim such actions have increased the conflict in Central America, but the U.S. government believes that it must stop communism "in its own backyard." Tensions are also high in Eastern Europe where Polish citizens are continuing their five-year struggle to gain greater political and economic freedoms. The United States has publicly backed these efforts, but the Soviet Union claims the trouble in Poland is an "internal" matter best left to the Soviet government to solve without interference from the United States.

Given this background, inform the two groups that they will meet in Geneva, Switzerland, to begin a new round of arms control talks. Their mission is to develop an arms control agreement that will be acceptable to both nations. To begin their negotiations, the groups must do some research to answer the following questions:

- What U.S.-Soviet arms control agreements are currently in place? What are the provisions of each of these agreements?
- What nuclear weapons does each nation possess? What are their strengths and weaknesses?
- Is either nation developing new weapons? If so, what are their capabilities?

Inform students that they can use *U.S.-Soviet Relations* or any other materials in their research. Once they have completed their research, each group should design an arms control agreement that the United States and the Soviet Union could have signed in 1985. Urge them to develop a treaty that would satisfy all the security needs of the United States and the Soviet Union while reducing or eliminating weapon stockpiles. Once each group has developed such a proposal, ask them to trade and consider the other's proposal and develop a counterproposal. Allow the process to be played out until an agreement is reached or a stalemate occurs.

After a final treaty is signed or there is a stalemate, conduct a debriefing session with your students. Was an agreement reached? Why or why not? What were some of the difficulties the sides encountered? How could they have been avoided? What role did the current state of U.S.-Soviet relations play in the negotiations? Was 1985 a good time to try to reach an arms control agreement? Why or why not?

Unit 3
Revolution in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1985-1990

Objectives

After completing this unit, students should be able to:

1. Identify major points of discussion and accomplishments of U.S.-Soviet summit conferences from 1985 to 1990.
2. Explain domestic considerations driving Mikhail Gorbachev's desire to improve U.S.-Soviet relations.
3. Describe the differences among the anti-communist revolutions that occurred in Eastern Europe in 1989.
4. Analyze differences among the fifteen Soviet republics and hypothesize about the future of independence movements in the republics.
5. Critique the U.S.-Soviet relationship under President George Bush and judge whether the Cold War ended in 1990.

Key Terms

Civic Forum
Vaclav Havel
Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty
Tadeusz Mazowiecki
National Salvation Front
New Forum
Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START)
Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
Lech Walesa

Motivator

Begin by asking students to develop an opinion poll about Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President George Bush. First, brainstorm possible questions with the entire class. Write the questions on the board. Then, divide the class into two groups to develop the actual questionnaire. All questions should be in multiple choice, yes-no, or agree-disagree format, so that answers are easy to tally. The first group should develop three questions regarding the leadership and goals of Gorbachev, and the second group should develop three questions about the leadership and goals of Bush.

Next, send your students around the school to take the opinion poll among other students and teachers. When all the answers have been tallied, have several students summarize the results and report them to the class. After the reports have been given, discuss with students the impressions their classmates and teachers have of the U.S. and Soviet leaders. Ask them to hypothesize about how differently people in the 1950s or 1970s might have felt. Note that in Chapter 3 of *U.S.-Soviet Relations* the students will be studying dramatic changes that have taken place in U.S.-Soviet relations during the past few years, and that many Americans' views of the Soviet Union have been altered by these changes.

Student Activities

1. Divide students into seven groups, each of which will examine one of the U.S.-Soviet summit meetings covered in Chapter 3—Geneva, 1985; Reykjavik, 1986; Washington, 1987; Moscow, 1988; New York, 1988; Malta, 1989; and Washington, 1990. Each group should research, write, and present to the class a five-minute television news "special report" on the summit they were assigned. Students may handle their reports in a variety of ways—role-playing interviews with experts or political leaders, holding a panel discussion on the accomplishments of the summit, or discussing the events of one day of the summit as if they were on an evening newscast. If your school has video equipment, students might want to tape their reports to be shown on television to the entire class. You could also stage them "live" in the front of the classroom.

After all the reports have been presented in chronological order, lead a class discussion in which students critique the coverage their classmates have given various events. Do they believe any of the reports were biased? Why? Should certain events have been emphasized more than others? Ask students to summarize the changes they detected in U.S.-Soviet relations from the first summit to the last. What factors led to these changes? Have there been any summits since the last one reported on by students? If so, what have been the outcomes of these summits?

2. After studying the Eastern European revolutions of 1989 in *U.S.-Soviet Relations*, have students create a bulletin board for other students in the school showing changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe. The bulletin board should include a map, a timeline, biographies of key leaders, and a current events update. You may want to assign one group of students to work on each of these components.

When all information has been gathered, ask students to present their findings to the class. Then, make up the bulletin board. Conclude by inviting another class—perhaps American history or civics—to view the finished product. Encourage students from the other class to ask questions about the history and current events of Eastern Europe.

3. Begin by discussing with students the fact that in recent years many Soviet republics began to demand greater autonomy, and in the case of Lithuania total independence, from Soviet rule. Next, distribute **Student Handout #3** to the class. Assign small teams of students to research at least one of the Soviet republics, making sure that all of the republics are assigned to a team. After the teams have completed their research, they should report their findings to the rest of the class so that all students have the data needed to complete the handout.

Then ask each team to collect newspaper and magazine stories from the past year about the Soviet republics. Have students summarize the stories in a few sentences. Place the summaries on a bulletin board under an appropriate head and continue to add to the collection throughout your study of U.S.-Soviet relations. At the end of this unit, review the events in the republics and ask students to hypothesize about the likelihood of further independence movements in the Soviet republics in the future.

Unit 4
Issues for the Twenty-first Century

Objectives

After completing this unit, students should be able to:

1. Describe major issues facing the United States and the Soviet Union in the twenty-first century.
2. Analyze international conflicts in terms of their geographic, economic, and political effects on the United States and the Soviet Union.
3. State an opinion about the effects of global environmental problems on foreign policy.
4. Speculate about the future course of U.S.-Soviet relations.

Key Terms

acid rain
chemical weapons
conventional forces
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
German reunification
green foreign policy
greenhouse effect
nuclear proliferation
peace dividend

Motivator

Begin by explaining to your students that many experts today say that the Cold War has ended. According to these experts, due to improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, many of the characteristics of the Cold War—an escalating arms race, competition over allies, accusations of wrong-doing, and so forth—have given way to increased cooperation and friendly relations. Lead a discussion with students, asking them if they agree that the Cold War has ended. If they agree, what evidence can they give to support their view? Students who disagree should also be able to support their views with evidence. Turn the discussion into a debate, allowing students to try to persuade one another to agree with a particular point of view.

As a homework assignment, have students ask their parents if they think the Cold War has ended. Students should come to class the next day with their parents' views on this question and the reasoning behind their viewpoints. Compare the answers of the parents with those of the students. How are they similar? How are they different? Based on this information, is it possible to say that the Cold War is over? Why or why not?

Student Activities

1. Ask students to list several international conflicts now facing the United States and the Soviet Union. Then, have them choose one of the conflicts and complete **Student Handout #4.** In a class discussion, let students share their opinions with each other and encourage them to debate the pros and cons of other views.

After the discussion, ask each student to pick a public figure who is concerned with the international conflict they chose and write a letter to that policymaker explaining their viewpoint. Ask for volunteers to read their letters in class.

2. Ask students to brainstorm environmental problems facing the world today. Then, by a show of hands, have them choose the problem that concerns them most. Form an imaginary environmental interest group that will take action to solve the problem. Working in groups of two or three, students should complete the following assignments:

- Formulate the goals of the environmental group.
- Research the causes of the problem and present an oral report to the class.
- Prepare a two-minute speech to deliver before the United Nations outlining the solution to the global environmental problem, stating specifically how the United States and the Soviet Union should take part in the solution. Ask one person from each group to deliver the speech.

Conclude by having the class discuss whether the United Nations and the two superpowers would be likely to take the actions recommended by the environmental group.

3. First, divide students into five groups. Assign each group a decade of the Cold War—the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Each group must choose what they believe was the most important event in U.S.-Soviet relations during its decade and then hypothesize how U.S.-Soviet relations might have been altered if that event had happened differently or not at all. Distribute **Student Handout #5.** It should be helpful in completing this assignment.

When they have outlined their scenarios, the groups should share them with the rest of the class. Discuss each group's "what if" scenario. Is it plausible? Does the class agree with how the scenario would affect U.S.-Soviet relations?

After all the scenarios for the past have been presented, ask each group to create a scenario for the future—twenty years from the present—using **Student Handout #6** as a guide. Ask a representative from each group to explain the scenario to the rest of the class. Have your students try to come to a consensus about which is most likely to occur.

Student Handout #1

U.S. and Soviet Economies

Write **US** in the blanks next to the statements that describe the U.S. economy, and **USSR** next to those that describe the Soviet economy. If the statement describes both nations, write **Both** in the blank.

_____ 1. Private individuals own most of the land, factories, and machinery.

_____ 2. Government offers citizens free elementary and secondary education.

_____ 3. Workers are guaranteed employment.

_____ 4. The government owns most of the land, factories, and machinery.

_____ 5. The government provides free health care to all citizens.

_____ 6. The government takes a portion of all agricultural products before farmers may sell to consumers.

_____ 7. Supply and demand in the free market set the prices of consumer goods.

_____ 8. Government regulatory agencies monitor private businesses to protect consumers' rights.

_____ 9. The government sets the exchange rate for currency.

_____ 10. The government participates in organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that regulate the global economy.

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Student Handout #2

Making Foreign Policy

In the U.S.-Soviet relations crisis you have chosen, there are three sets of actors for each nation: political officials, military officials, and members of the press. Listed below each of the three actors are questions to consider as you act out the roles of these key players.

Political Officials

United States
president
vice president
secretary of state
UN ambassador
House majority and minority leaders
Senate majority and minority leaders

Soviet Union
general secretary of the Communist Party
president
members of the Politburo
members of the Supreme Soviet
head of the security police (KGB)
official responsible for press censorship

Carefully research the foreign policy crisis you are attempting to resolve. As you study the event, try to answer the following questions:

1. What are the major goals of the United States in this situation?

2. What are the major goals of the Soviet Union in this situation?

3. What are three possible scenarios for resolving the crisis?

4. What other nations should you consult for advice on handling the situation and what is their advice likely to be?

5. What role can the United Nations play in resolving the crisis?

6. What should the public know about the crisis?

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Military Officials

United States
high-ranking representatives of the army, navy, air force, and marines

Soviet Union
high-ranking representatives of the army, navy, and air force

Carefully research the foreign policy crisis you are trying to resolve. As you study the situation, try to answer the following questions:

1. What military options are available to resolve the crisis?

2. What are the strengths and weaknesses of each option?

3. Which option is the other side likely to choose?

4. How will you advise the nation's political officials to proceed in resolving the crisis?

Members of the Press

Carefully research the foreign policy crisis on which you will be reporting. While the political and military leaders are attempting to resolve the crisis, prepare a list of questions to ask them. Remember, members of the Soviet press may discuss among themselves what they would like to report, but must submit all their stories to a government censor before publication. American reporters, on the other hand, may encourage government and military officials to "leak" stories and may try to uncover additional information not given to them by the officials.

Both American and Soviet reporters should ask questions regarding:

1. The geopolitical and economic impact of the crisis.

2. The roles of other nations in creating or resolving the crisis.

3. The role of the United Nations.

4. The domestic political consequences of the crisis.

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Student Handout #3

The Republics of the Soviet Union

	Date Established as a Republic	Population	Natural Resources	Agricultural Products	Industries
Armenia					
Azerbaijan					
Belorussia					
Estonia					
Georgia					
Kazakhstan					
Kirgizia					
Latvia					
Lithuania					
Moldavia					
Russia					
Tadzhikistan					
Turkmenistan					
Ukraine					
Uzbekistan					

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Student Handout #4

Current Events

1. Briefly describe an international conflict facing the world today. What nations are involved? What is the cause of the conflict? Are the United States and the Soviet Union involved? In what ways?

2. What geographic, economic, and political factors are involved in the conflict?

3. In your opinion, what is the best way to resolve this conflict? Explain the reasons for your answer.

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Student Handout #5

What if . . . ?

Choose the most important event in U.S.-Soviet relations in your decade and complete the following items.

1. The most important event in U.S.-Soviet relations of the 19___ s was:

2. This event was important because:

3. Describe one way that this event may have happened differently.

4. If the event had happened in the way you described, how may have the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union been different?

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Student Handout #6

Thinking About the Future

Think about the following statements and answer accordingly.

Twenty years from now:

1. Will the United States and the Soviet Union still be the most powerful nations in the world?

2. How will the economy and government of the United States be different?

3. How will the economy and government of the Soviet Union be different?

4. In what areas will the United States and the Soviet Union be cooperating?

5. In what areas will the United States and the Soviet Union be in conflict?

6. What will be the most serious problem facing the world?

7. What will be the U.S. policy concerning this problem?

8. What will be the Soviet policy concerning this problem?

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Unit Test Materials

Unit 1 Differing World Views

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

___ 1. Both the United States and the Soviet Union are rich in natural resources, but the United States produces much less energy than it consumes, so it must maintain trade ties with oil-exporting nations.

___ 2. Both the Soviet Union and the United States have special national legislatures that deal with the problems of minorities.

___ 3. After immigrants become citizens of the United States, they generally have little interest in the affairs of their homelands.

___ 4. Before the 1917 revolution that created the Soviet Union, the nation of Russia was an advanced industrial nation with a democratic government.

___ 5. The U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights are based in part on the belief that the government should protect citizens' rights to life, liberty, and property.

Multiple Choice: Circle the letter preceding the best choice.

6. Which one of the following phrases describes a geopolitical situation of the United States?

   a. Poor climate forces it to import large amounts of food.
   b. An unprotected western border leaves it open to invasion.
   c. It has hostile relations with its neighbors.
   d. Its size and wealth enable it to play a leading role in global affairs.

7. Which one of the following statements does *not* describe the economic philosophy of Karl Marx?

   a. Workers should manage the factories in which they work.
   b. Wealth should be distributed equally among all people in a society.
   c. Economic depressions occur because capitalists want to keep too many profits for themselves rather than distributing them to workers.
   d. When a communist society is created, capitalists will run the government for the benefit of all workers.

8. Which one of the following statements does *not* describe the economic philosophy of Adam Smith?

   a. The self-interest of producers and consumers regulates the economy for the benefit of everyone.
   b. The government should not regulate businesses.
   c. The government should protect citizens' property rights.
   d. The government should set a minimum wage to ensure that workers have enough money to buy the products of industry.

9. Which one of the following powers do *both* Soviet and U.S. presidents have?

   a. the power to appoint leaders of the legislative branch.
   b. the power to negotiate treaties.
   c. the power to appoint members of the Supreme Court.
   d. the power to declare war.

10. Which one of the following phrases best defines the term *perestroika?*

   a. the opening up of Soviet society to allow the free expression of ideas.
   b. the restructuring of Soviet foreign policy to increase friendly exchanges with the West.
   c. the restructuring of the Soviet economy to include elements of capitalism.
   d. the freeing of Soviet political prisoners.

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

11. The _____ of a nation refers to how a nation defines its role in the world.

12. In the United States and the Soviet Union, power is shared between national and state or republic governments in a system known as _____ .

13. In the Soviet Union, the legislative branch is made up of the _____ and the _____ .

14. Until recent reforms, the _____ was the only political party allowed in the Soviet Union.

15. The policy of _____ has allowed greater freedom of speech in the Soviet Union than ever before.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following questions.

16. Imagine you are a Muslim citizen of the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan in 1979. What complaints might you have against the Soviet government?

17. How did the reforms of the New Deal address the failures of the American capitalist system? How have the reforms of *perestroika* addressed the failures of the Soviet economic system?

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

___1. Lenin's Bolshevik party promised Russians "Peace, Bread, and Freedom."

___2. Many Americans joined the Communist party because the Soviets were leading the fight against fascism in Europe in the 1930s.

___3. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have used nuclear weapons against their enemies.

___4. In 1968, President Johnson sent several NATO divisions in support of Alexander Dubcek and the Czechoslovaks who were fighting to free their nation from Soviet control.

___5. President Jimmy Carter publicly criticized Soviet human rights abuses and took a harsher stand toward the Soviet Union than had the Nixon-Ford administration.

Multiple Choice: Circle the letter preceding the best choice.

6. Which one of the following was *not* a cause of hostility between the U.S. and Soviet governments before the end of World War I in 1918?
   a. The United States resented the fact that the Soviet government betrayed the Allies by withdrawing early from World War I and signing a separate peace treaty with Germany.
   b. The United States participated in an Allied effort to aid the anti-communist Whites during the Russian Civil War.
   c. The Soviet Union created the Comintern, an organization that supported the overthrow of capitalist governments.
   d. The United States supported Germany's invasion of Poland, which took territory away from the Soviet Union.

7. Which one of the following was a cause of hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union after World War II?
   a. The Soviet Union did not allow free elections in Eastern Europe, but instead installed communist governments there.
   b. The United States refused to allow the Soviet Union and its allies to participate in the Marshall Plan.
   c. The Soviet Union resented the fact that the United States and Great Britain stopped Soviet troops from advancing into German territory in 1945.
   d. The Soviets wanted the Western powers to occupy all of Germany after the war and pay for Germany's reconstruction.

8. Which one of the following events took place during the administration of President Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles?

   a. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed.
   b. United Nations was formed.
   c. The United States adopted the policy of massive retaliation, threatening all-out use of nuclear weapons against Soviet aggression.
   d. The United States launched the Peace Corps and Alliance for Progress.

9. Which one of the following phrases best describes the policy of flexible response, adopted under President John Kennedy?

   a. The United States increased funding for math and science programs, designed to allow it flexibility in competing with the Soviet Union.
   b. The United States installed teletype and telephone "hotlines" between the Kremlin and the White House, so that leaders could reach each other during world crises.
   c. The United States prepared to fight many types of wars, without relying solely on nuclear weapons against Soviet aggression.
   d. Tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union were eased to accomplish certain goals.

10. Which one of the following was *not* a provision of the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) signed by Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev?

    a. Deployment of anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) was limited.
    b. The buildup of stockpiles of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) was allowed to continue, but at a slower pace.
    c. Future U.S. and Soviet spending on nuclear weapons was limited to 12 percent of each nation's defense budget.
    d. The deployment of defensive weapons was limited.

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

11. At the 1945 _____ conference, Great Britain and the United States agreed that the Soviets could maintain a sphere of influence in the territories occupied by the Soviet army, provided free elections were held after the war.

12. In 1949, the United States, Canada, and ten European nations joined together to form an alliance for military security known as the _____.

13. In 1965, President Johnson sent U.S. troops to suppress a rebellion in the _____, saying that communists were part of the rebel movement.

14. In 1961, East Germany began erecting the _____ to keep East Germans from fleeing to the west.

15. In 1961, President Kennedy's administration carried out a failed coup attempt, known as the _____ invasion, designed to oust Fidel Castro from Cuba.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following questions.

16. Briefly trace the history of U.S. containment policy in Asia during the Cold War, focusing on China, Korea, and Vietnam.

17. What were the major points of conflict in U.S.-Soviet relations in 1985?

Unit 3
Revolution in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1985-1990

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

___1. A major accomplishment of the 1985 Geneva summit was to ease tensions between the two superpowers after six years of strained relations.

___2. The Soviet Union strongly criticized U.S. support for anti-communist rebels in Afghanistan and Nicaragua, calling U.S. actions "state terrorism."

___3. In private talks, President Ronald Reagan pressed Soviet leaders to improve their nation's human rights policies.

___4. Some U.S. arms control experts believed that the Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars," research violated the 1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

___5. In 1989, the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian Communist parties dedicated themselves to democratic reform and renamed themselves the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian Socialist parties.

Multiple Choice: Circle the letter preceding the best choice.

6. Which one of the following is *not* a reason why Mikhail Gorbachev pursued improved relations with the United States when he came to power in 1985?
   a. He wanted to divert money from military spending to other sectors of the Soviet economy.
   b. He wanted to decrease Soviet financial and military commitments to nations in Eastern Europe.
   c. He wanted to decrease Soviet financial and military commitments to nations in the Third World.
   d. He wanted U.S. aid to help defeat rebel forces in Afghanistan.

7. Why did the Soviet Union oppose the Strategic Defense Initiative program?
   a. because it posed a danger to the environment by releasing nuclear waste into the atmosphere.
   b. because the Soviets thought it would enable the United States to stop future Soviet space missions.
   c. because it would require the Soviets to spend more money on defense to keep up with American technology.
   d. because it would require the Americans to increase scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union to continue their research.

8. Why was the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty a historic agreement?

   a. It was the first agreement to eliminate all testing of nuclear weapons.
   b. It was the first agreement to include all the NATO and Warsaw Pact nations.
   c. It was the first agreement to call for an end to Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) research.
   d. It was the first agreement to reduce the numbers of existing weapons on each side, rather than limiting production of new weapons.

9. Which statement best describes Mikhail Gorbachev's role in the democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe?

   a. Gorbachev sent money and military aid to New Forum, Civic Forum, and the National Salvation Front.
   b. Gorbachev made it clear that the Soviet Union had no intention of sending military support to the communist governments in Eastern Europe.
   c. Gorbachev sent tanks and Soviet troops to aid East German and Romanian leaders.
   d. Gorbachev called for UN peacekeeping forces in Eastern Europe.

10. Which one of the following goals did Gorbachev *not* pursue in his first two summits with President George Bush?

    a. more favorable U.S.-Soviet trade agreements.
    b. U.S. technical assistance for Soviet industry.
    c. cuts in chemical weapons stockpiles.
    d. a joint agreement opposing German reunification.

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

11. In a speech to the United Nations in December 1988, Mikhail Gorbachev promised unilateral cuts in Soviet troops stationed in _____.

12. In the fall of 1989, a political organization known as _____ led demonstrations against communist rule in East Germany.

13. Solidarity organizer _____ became prime minister of Poland in 1989.

14. In December 1989, dissident playwright _____ was elected president of Czechoslovakia.

15. After many bloody battles with security police, Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu was overthrown and executed by a provisional government known as the _____.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following questions.

16. What domestic situations in the United States and the Soviet Union contributed to the ability of Reagan and Gorbachev to successfully complete an arms control agreement at the 1987 Washington summit?

17. Name three events that played important roles in ending the Cold War.

Unit 4 Issues for the Twenty-first Century

True/False: Use T for true and F for false, and place your answer in the blank. Use the space below the item to correct any statements you think are false.

___1. In 1990, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to the major points of a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) that would cut U.S. and Soviet stockpiles of nuclear warheads by nearly 75 percent.

___2. Chemical weapons were first used on a large scale during the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s.

___3. In 1990, Warsaw Pact forces in Europe were much larger than NATO forces in Europe.

___4. As relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have improved, the United States has loosened restrictions on exports of computers and electronics to the Soviet Union.

___5. In the 1987 Montreal Protocol, forty-nine nations pledged to cut their use of chemicals that contribute to water pollution.

Multiple Choice: Circle the letter preceding the best choice.

6. Why do some policymakers argue that the United States and the Soviet Union must maintain nuclear arsenals?

   a. to deter each other from using nuclear weapons.
   b. to use against terrorist groups.
   c. to make nuclear energy more available.
   d. to deter war in Third World countries.

7. What obstacle exists to the 1990 U.S.-Soviet treaty that calls for the destruction of chemical weapons stockpiles?

   a. The treaty calls for disposal of the weapons in Third World nations, and these nations have refused to allow destruction of plants within their borders.
   b. The Soviet Union has demanded that all its chemical weapons be destroyed by the United States.
   c. It is likely that many U.S. citizens will file lawsuits blocking the building of chemical weapons destruction plants in their communities.
   d. The Soviet Union may not have the technical know-how to build safe transportation and destruction systems.

8. What problem is faced by U.S. companies operating in the Soviet Union?

   a. an overabundance of information about Soviet industry.
   b. unwillingness of Soviet citizens to buy American goods.
   c. inability to hire Soviet workers.
   d. difficulty of converting profits into dollars.

9. Which of the following is a major obstacle to solving global environmental problems?

   a. Few scientists are interested in working cooperatively on environmental problems.
   b. The Soviet Union has opposed all international efforts to limit pollution.
   c. The technology to clean up pollution is often too expensive for less developed nations to afford.
   d. It is illegal for American and Soviet officials to implement joint environmental projects.

10. In what nation did U.S.-Soviet cooperation lead to the end of a long military conflict and the democratic election of Violeta Chamorro in 1990?

   a. Angola
   b. Nicaragua
   c. El Salvador
   d. Panama

Fill in the blank: Complete each statement.

11. The United States, the Soviet Union, and other nations have tried to limit nuclear proliferation through the _____, an organization created in 1957, which inspects nuclear energy facilities to ensure that weapons are not being developed.

12. An agreement signed by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1990 committed the United States to granting the Soviet Union _____ provided the Soviets passed more liberal emigration laws.

13. The efforts of world leaders to cooperate in preserving the environment has become known as _____ foreign policy.

14. The money that might be saved in the United States by producing fewer weapons and maintaining smaller armies has come to be known as a _____.

15. The Soviet Union imports mainly _____ products from the United States, and the United States imports mainly raw materials such as oil and natural gas from the Soviet Union.

Essay: Write a complete answer for each of the following questions.

16. Describe the benefits of joint ventures for U.S. companies and for Soviet enterprises.

17. In which of the following areas do you believe U.S.-Soviet cooperation will be most effective in the twenty-first century? Explain your answer.

   a. mediating international conflicts
   b. solving environmental problems
   c. ending nuclear proliferation

Answer Key

Questions to Consider While You Read

Chapter 1—Differing World Views

1. Geopolitics is the way in which geography affects a nation's interaction with other nations. The geopolitics of the United States is affected by its protected position between two oceans, its lack of threatening neighbors, its ability to produce an abundance of food, its wealth of natural resources, and its ethnic diversity. The geopolitics of the Soviet Union is affected by its large size, with territory in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East; its borders with many other nations; its harsh climate and agricultural problems; its wealth of natural resources; and its ethnic diversity.

2. Adam Smith favored the economic system known as market capitalism, or *laissez faire* capitalism. The U.S. economic system is not totally free of government control as Smith advocated. In the United States, the government regulates business practices, controls the money supply, and provides for the welfare of poor and disabled citizens.

3. Karl Marx advocated a socialist economic system that would eventually give way to a communist system in which workers would control the means of production, thus making government no longer necessary. In the Soviet Union, the idea of worker control was never achieved because the government retained full control of all the nation's resources and factories. Today, the Soviet Union is beginning to move away from government control and toward greater use of markets and private enterprise.

4. In the United States, government power is divided among three branches. Each branch has some control over the others, so that no one branch exercises unlimited power. For example, the president can veto legislation passed by Congress. In the Soviet government, some checks and balances exist. For example, the Soviet president—like the U.S. president—may veto a law. However, the Soviet judicial branch is weaker than the U.S. judicial branch because, unlike U.S. courts, Soviet courts cannot interpret laws and Supreme Court judges are not appointed for life.

5. U.S. economic interests influence foreign policy because the government tends to make trade agreements favorable to American businesses, to promote capitalism, and to protect U.S. business interests around the world. U.S. political interests influence foreign policy because the United States generally allies itself with other democracies. Soviet economic interests have tended to influence foreign policy in conflicting ways—leading the Soviet Union to try to promote communist revolutions in other nations, but also forcing the nation to pursue trade with noncommunist nations. Today, the Soviet Union's need for economic growth has led it to pursue economic aid and trade with the West. Traditionally, Soviet political repression of freedom at home has extended to its foreign policy, leading to repression of freedom among its allies. However, with the advent of *glasnost*, the Soviet government has become more tolerant of political diversity at home and among its allies.

Chapter 2—Evolution of U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1917-1985

1. The Red Scare of 1919-1920 was a period of intense fear of communists and radicals in the United States. During the Red Scare, many Americans were unfairly accused of subversive activities and were often jailed or deported as a result of these accusations. The McCarthy era of the 1950s is known as the second Red Scare because a similar fear of communists gripped the nation, leading to several celebrated trials and accusations of subversion against thousands of Americans.

2. From 1941 to 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union fought together against Nazi Germany and its allies and eventually defeated them. After the war, the Soviet Union was angered by the long delay by U.S. and British armies in opening a second front in Europe to take pressure off the Soviet front. The United States disapproved of the Soviet Union's refusal to allow free elections in Eastern Europe and its installation of communist governments there.

3. A cold war is a fierce competition for power between nations that stops short of military action. The term is used to describe U.S.-Soviet relations from 1945 through most of the 1980s. At the beginning of the Cold War, the United States supplied aid to Greece and Turkey to forestall communist gains, funded the Marshall Plan to rebuild postwar Europe to lessen communist influence, conducted the Berlin airlift to keep the Western democracies in power in Berlin, and formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to maintain European security against communist aggression.

4. President Nixon wanted to relax tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union to slow the arms race and to gain Soviet assistance in stabilizing volatile areas of the world. Many Americans eventually opposed detente because of Soviet repression of human rights and Soviet military support for communist groups in other nations.

5. Animosity between the United States and the Soviet Union increased under Presidents Carter and Reagan because of an increase in Soviet forces in Europe, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviets' crackdown in Poland, the belief that the Soviet Union was promoting the spread of communism in Latin America, the U.S. deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe, Carter's emphasis on human rights in the Soviet Union, and Reagan's support for the Strategic Defense Initiative. Reagan supported anti-communist forces in Central America because he believed that U.S. security would be threatened if communist regimes took control in the Western Hemisphere.

Chapter 3—Revolution in U.S.-Soviet Relations: 1985-1990

1. Gorbachev sought better relations with the United States because he wanted to decrease Soviet military spending and lessen Soviet military commitments around the world. Such activities would allow him to increase spending on other sectors of the economy and implement his economic reforms. Relations between Reagan and Gorbachev improved dramatically from 1985 to 1988—from open hostility and mistrust to cooperation and friendship.

2. President Reagan believed that the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) was a defensive weapons system that would improve U.S. security. He also believed that SDI encouraged the Soviets to negotiate arms control agreements. Gorbachev opposed SDI be-

cause it would allow the United States to launch a first strike at the Soviet Union and would force the Soviets to increase their military spending to keep up with U.S. research.

3. The main goal of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was to eliminate all U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear weapons. The treaty was a milestone in U.S.-Soviet relations because it was the first to actually eliminate nuclear weapons, rather than simply setting limits on building new ones.

4. Mikhail Gorbachev made it known that the Soviet Union would not use force to prop up communist governments in Eastern Europe as it had in the 1950s and 1960s. The first democratic revolutions occurred in Poland and Hungary.

5. In 1990, Bush and Gorbachev disagreed on the question of Lithuania's demand for independence. The two leaders agreed on increasing U.S. grain sales to the Soviets, a preliminary START treaty, reducing chemical weapons stockpiles, a reunification plan for East and West Germany, and imposing economic sanctions on Iraq.

Chapter 4—Issues for the Twenty-first Century

1. Students' answers will vary, but should include the following point. The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) currently being discussed is not likely to change the nuclear balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union because both nations' stockpiles would be reduced by approximately 30 percent.

2. Some U.S. policymakers argue that the United States should maintain a larger military force than the Soviet Union in Europe because geography gives the Soviet Union an advantage in any war fought in Europe. The Soviets will always be able to move troops and supplies into Europe more quickly than the United States. Some Soviet policymakers argue that the Soviet Union is more vulnerable to attack in the 1990s because it no longer controls the buffer zone of Eastern Europe and because united Germany has suddenly become a powerful nation again.

3. Trade with the Soviet Union could compromise U.S. security if the Soviets import weapons or tools and equipment that could be used for military or espionage purposes. The United States has been more cautious in extending direct aid to the Soviet Union than some European nations have been because many Americans do not want to lend money to the Soviets as long as they maintain a powerful military force and support anti-American governments in other nations.

4. American companies attempting to invest in the Soviet Union face the difficulty of exchanging Soviet rubles for U.S. dollars, a shortage of housing and office space, and limited access to basic information about the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union has encouraged American investment by giving companies the right to hire Soviet employees directly and compensate them in any mutually agreeable way, and by increasing protections for American patents and copyrights.

5. This question asks for students' opinions; therefore, answers will vary widely. Students should support their opinions with facts.

Unit Tests

Unit 1

1. T
2. F Only the Soviet Union has a special national legislature that deals with the problems of ethnic minorities.
3. F After immigrants become citizens of the United States, they usually retain an interest in the affairs of their homelands.
4. F Before the 1917 revolution, Russia was in an early stage of industrialization and had an autocratic government.
5. T
6. d
7. d
8. d
9. b
10. c
11. world view
12. federalism
13. Congress of People's Deputies, Supreme Soviet
14. Communist party
15. *glasnost*
16. Students' answers will vary, but should include the following points. Complaints against the government would include the lack of religious freedom, the difficulty for religious and ethnic minorities to get political or economic power, and the government's war against Muslim rebels in Afghanistan. Other valid answers may be accepted.
17. Students' answers will vary, but should include the following points. New Deal reforms: Government-initiated programs gave jobs, food, and shelter to people in need (social security, unemployment insurance, low-cost housing, health care services for the poor and elderly, etc.). Government-created watchdog agencies monitored business practices and protected the interests of consumers (Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Securities and Exchange Commission).

    Perestroika reforms: Factories and farms must show a profit; factory inspectors may reject poor quality goods; government will allow modified forms of private ownership of property and businesses; joint ventures with Western nations are permitted; people may legally perform small-scale services for money; and prices of some consumer goods may rise to market levels.

Unit 2

1. F The Bolshevik party promised Russians "Peace, Bread, and Land," meaning that if the party came to power it would withdraw from World War I, end food shortages, and distribute land among poor farmers.
2. T
3. F The United States is the only nation that has ever used nuclear weapons against an enemy.
4. F The United States opposed Soviet repression of the rebellion in Czechoslovakia in 1968, but did not intervene militarily.

5. T
6. d
7. a
8. c
9. c
10. c
11. Yalta
12. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
13. Dominican Republic
14. Berlin Wall
15. Bay of Pigs
16. Students' answers will vary, but should include the following points. In China, the United States supported Jiang Jieshi and his Nationalists, while the Soviet Union supported Mao Zedong and his Communists. In 1949, the Communists defeated the Nationalists and forced them to retreat to Taiwan. The United States refused to acknowledge the communist victory and continued to recognize the Nationalist government until the 1970s.

    The United States aided South Korea when it was attacked by communist North Korea in 1950. A U.S.-led force of United Nations troops fought alongside the South Koreans until 1953, when an armistice was signed keeping Korea divided at the 38th parallel. North Korea remained allied with the Soviet Union, and South Korea remained allied with the United States.

    While the Soviet Union backed nationalist leader Ho Chi Minh in gaining control of North Vietnam, the United States backed the South Vietnamese government first under Bao Dai, and later under Ngo Dinh Diem. After many years of involvement in Vietnam, the United States withdrew its forces. In 1976, the two Vietnams were reunited under communist rule, and the nation remained a Soviet ally.
17. Negotiations on the new Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) were at a standstill after Soviet representatives walked out in protest over the deployment of medium range missiles in Western Europe by the United States. The U.S. government continued to supply rebel forces in Afghanistan fighting a large Soviet force. The United States also provided military and humanitarian aid to anti-communist forces fighting the Soviet-backed government in Nicaragua.

Unit 3

1. T
2. T
3. T
4. F Some U.S. arms control experts believed that Strategic Defense Initiative research violated the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.
5. F In 1989, Hungarian and Bulgarian Communist parties dedicated themselves to democratic change and renamed themselves the Hungarian and Bulgarian Socialist parties.
6. d
7. c
8. d
9. b
10. d

11. Europe
12. New Forum
13. Tadeusz Mazowiecki
14. Vaclav Havel
15. National Salvation Front
16. With the institution of *glasnost* and other policies, the human rights policies of the Soviet Union dramatically improved. Gorbachev began to allow some free elections in the Soviet Union, and sought a successful arms control agreement to boost his prestige at home. Reagan also sought to boost his reputation at home—which was suffering due to a political scandal.
17. Possible answers include: the Soviets' withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, the institution of Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the signing of the INF Treaty, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the opening of borders between many former communist countries—especially East and West Germany, and the election of the first non-communist government in Poland since the end of World War II.

Unit 4

1. F In 1990, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to the major points of a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) that would cut U.S. and Soviet stockpiles of nuclear weapons by about 30 percent.
2. F Chemical weapons were first used on a large scale during World War I.
3. T
4. T
5. F In the 1987 Montreal Protocol, forty-nine nations pledged to cut their use of chemicals that contribute to global warming, or the greenhouse effect.
6. a
7. c
8. d
9. c
10. b
11. International Atomic Energy Agency
12. most favored nation (MFN) status
13. green
14. peace dividend
15. agricultural (accept farm or grain)
16. Students' answers should include the following points. Joint ventures put U.S. companies in a beneficial position to take advantage of the Soviet market in the future; U.S. companies gain access to raw materials they need; Soviet companies can more easily satisfy consumer demands; and Soviet companies gain access to U.S. expertise and technology not otherwise available.
17. Because this question asks for students' opinions, answers will vary. Accept any reasonable answers in which students support their opinions with facts.

Student Handout #1

1. US
2. Both
3. USSR
4. USSR
5. USSR
6. USSR
7. US
8. US
9. USSR
10. US

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